Icon, Cult, and Context

Sacred Spaces and Objects in the Classical World



Edited by
Maura K. Heyn and
Ann Irvine Steinsapir

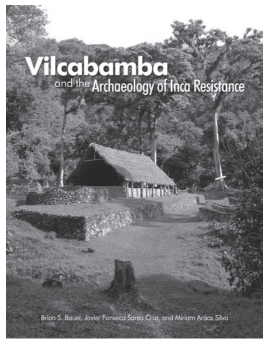
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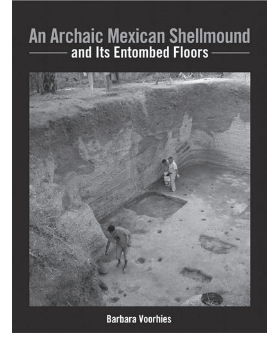
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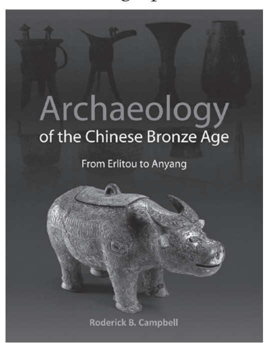
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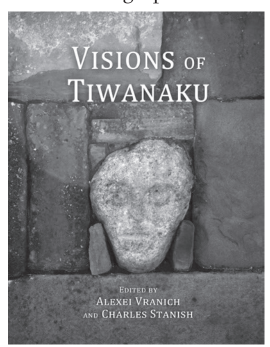
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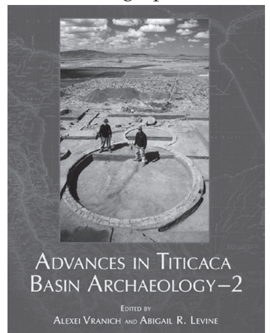
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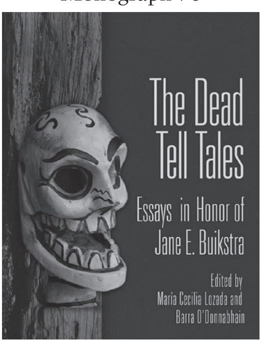
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Icon, Cult, and Context

Sacred Spaces and Objects in the Classical World

An edited volume featuring papers written by former students and colleagues of Susan B. Downey on the occasion of her retirement

Editors
Maura K. Heyn and Ann Irvine Steinsapir

UCLA COTSEN INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY PRESS

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press is the publishing unit of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA. The Cotsen Institute is a premier research organization dedicated to the creation, dissemination, and conservation of archaeological knowledge and heritage. It is home to both the Interdepartmental Archaeology Graduate Program and the UCLA/Getty Master's Program in the Conservation of Archaeological and Ethnographic Materials. The Cotsen Institute provides a forum for innovative faculty research, graduate education, and public programs at UCLA in an effort to positively impact the academic, local and global communities. Established in 1973, the Cotsen Institute is at the forefront of archaeological research, education, conservation and publication and is an active contributor to interdisciplinary research at UCLA.

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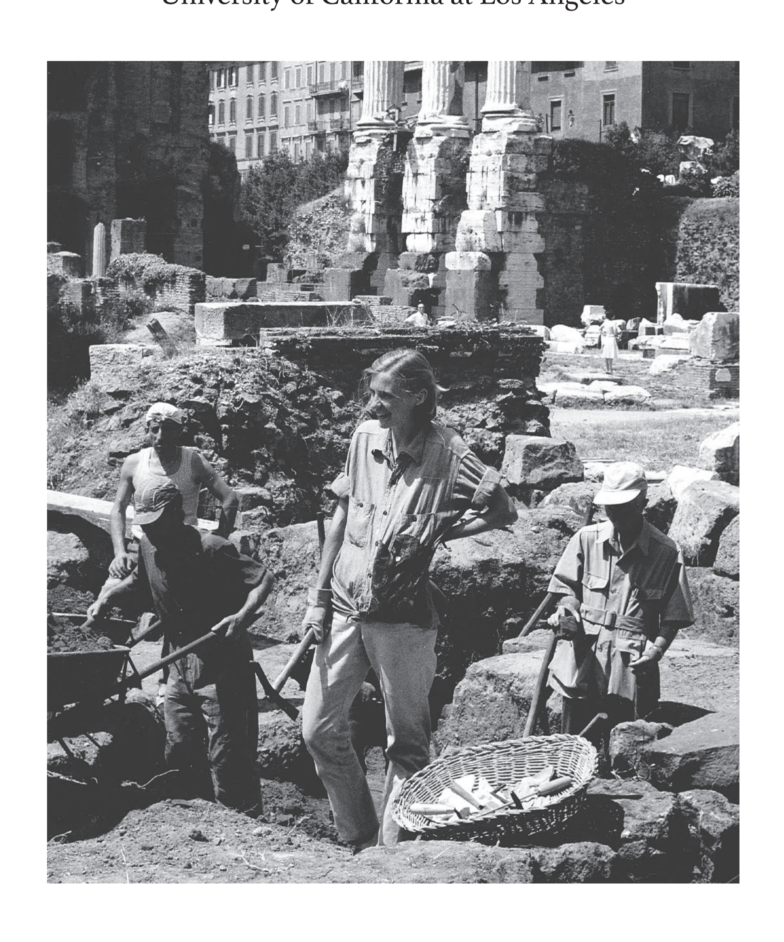
This volume is dedicated to

Dr. Susan B. Downey

emerita

Department of Art History

University of California at Los Angeles



Contents

Acknowledgments

By their nature, edited volumes are collaborative. We are grateful to the many people who have helped us bring this tribute to Susan Downey to fruition. We were very fortunate in our contributors: they submitted interesting and relevant chapters in keeping with the themes of the volume; they received comments from the editors and external reviewers with grace; and they incorporated revisions to their essays in a timely manner.

Two individuals at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press at UCLA were instrumental to the success of the endeavor: Dr. Willeke Wendrich, who brought the completed manuscript to the attention of the editorial board at the press, and Randi Danforth, press publications director, whose endless supply of patience and sound advice in the editing stages was much appreciated. We are heartily grateful to both of them.

Finally, we are indebted to the friends, former students, and colleagues of Susan Downey's who generously contributed to the project in order to offset some of the publication costs. They are individually named in the Tabula Gratuloria. We would like to thank them again here; their generosity ensured that the volume was able to reach its final destination—the hands of interested readers. A grant from the von Bothmer Publication Fund of the Archaeological Institute of America was also instrumental in allowing us to include color plates and high-quality images. Throughout this entire process, the outpouring of affection, admiration, and gratitude for Susan Downey has been simultaneously uplifting and humbling. Susan has touched many people in her many years of research, service, and teaching, and we can only hope that this volume will go some way toward repaying our debt of gratitude.

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Maura K. Heyn is an associate professor in the Department of Classical Studies at the University of North Carolina–Greensboro. Her research focuses on the funerary sculpture of Palmyra, and she has published several essays and articles on the topic, including "Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra," published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (114, no. 4) in 2010. She has also published two papers on the mural decoration of the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods in Dura-Europos and has and coedited a volume of essays**,** *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008).

Ann Irvine Steinsapir

Ann Irvine Steinsapir is an independent scholar. Since receiving her Ph.D. from UCLA in 1998, she has taught extensively in the southern California area. In 2002 she was awarded a William J. Fulbright Research Grant for work in Syria and Lebanon to augment her Ph.D. dissertation and to complete her book *Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Syria: The Creation of a Sacred Landscape* (2005). From 2004 to 2010, she was education specialist for academic and adult programming at the Getty Villa. Her current areas of research include the Severan Dynasty, the display of antiquity in the museum, and the reception of antiquity in the eighteenth century.

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We would like to thank the friends and colleagues of Susan Downey for their generous contributions to the publication of this volume

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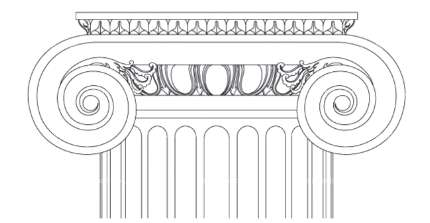
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Karol Wight

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CHAPTER ONE



From Heracles to Zeus Megistos: Susan Downey's Academic Contributions

Maura K. Heyn and Ann Irvine Steinsapir

Susan Downey began her academic career in the Department of Art History at UCLA in 1965, two years after graduating from Yale University with her Ph.D. in classics. Since that time, she has been a prolific scholar, a supportive yet rigorous mentor to several generations of art history and archaeology students, and a beloved and respected colleague. She retired in 2012. The contributors to this volume, Susan's former students and current colleagues, are pleased to honor her meticulous scholarship on the architecture of sacred spaces, and on the objects and imagery contained in those spaces, by offering essays on similar themes. In addition, in the spirit of Susan's scholarship, the different authors demonstrate a shared concern for very careful consideration of the evidence in their own analyses of religious imagery, cult practices, and sacred edifices.

Susan's numerous publications reflect her intellectual curiosity; her interests span a wide geographic swath, from the very heart of ancient Roman civilization—the Roman Forum—reaching out to the outer frontiers of the Roman Empire—the settlement of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates (see appendix A). Her scholarly pursuits have led her to a number of queries, including the iconography of paintings and sculpture, as well as an avid interest in architectural form and function. These themes are reflected in the articles collected here. Also evident is her ability to support and encourage students who choose to focus on areas outside her fields of inquiry. Karol Wight's article on glass, for example, points to Susan's ability to aid students in a medium that is far from her own interests. Susan's support of this focus on ancient glass and Wight's subsequent curatorial

career led to the Getty Museum's purchase of one of the most extensive collections of ancient glass. So Susan's hand can be felt in a number of ways outside the bounds of the academy.

For the past 12 years, Susan has focused her research on the Temple of Zeus Megistos at Dura-Europos. Several contributors to this volume (Dirven, Kaizer, Talbot, and Leriche) have contributed essays on different religious structures and iconography from Dura-Europos. Pierre Leriche, director of the Mission Franco-Syrienne d'Europos-Doura (MFSED), has worked closely with Susan during her ongoing investigation of the city and the reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus Megistos. Dura-Europos is well represented in this volume, but other areas, such as Rome, Pompeii, Etruria, Roman Egypt, and Asia Minor, also make an appearance.

As the title of the collection intimates, the material has been organized into three categories: icon, cult, and context. When collected together, however, the articles offer a number of interesting juxtapositions and a number of ways in which the submissions might have been arranged. As stated above, Dura-Europos stands out. Pierre Leriche's descriptions of the discoveries made and research conducted in the sanctuaries and temples at Dura-Europos by his archaeological team are a valuable addition to our understanding of the prolific religious activity at the site. Three additional articles examine well-known painting programs in sacred buildings at Dura-Europos: the synagogue, the so-called Temple of Bêl, and the mithraeum. May Talbot tackles the paintings of the third-century synagogue by reframing them within the context of the second-century philosophical movement the Second Sophistic. Analyzing the iconographic program of the west wall, Talbot suggests that the artists who painted the scenes on this wall deliberately juxtaposed images associated with disorder on the right with those of order on the left to reference a Greek exemplar that would embolden the Jews during a stressful period. Ted Kaizer takes another look at the identification of the gods worshipped in the Temple of Bêl by reexamining the earliest documents describing the site by American archaeologist James Henry Breasted. Kaizer reintroduces this early description, often forgotten or overlooked in later interpretations, in his discussion of the fresco fragment to identify the god worshipped there. Lucinda Dirven reconsiders the paintings in the mithraeum, specifically those of hunters on the sidewalls. Aided by paintings found at a newly discovered mithraeum in northern Syria, Dirven postulates an interpretation of the iconography at Dura-Europos and at the same time adds to the understanding of the Roman mystery religion of Mithras. These essays on Dura-Europos are especially valuable in light of the present dreadful turmoil in the region.

A number of the essays in this volume focus on iconographical issues. One of Susan's earliest publications, *The Heracles Sculpture*, which describes the Heracles iconography at Dura-Europos, demonstrated how the Greek hero was transformed through time and place. She offered a wide-reaching examination of

this epitome of a Greek hero, who was used in a number of ways throughout the Hellenistic world and was altered to suit the needs of the cultures and places appropriating him. The echoes of this research can be seen in Nagy's examination of the imagery of the Etruscan goddess Menerva, who has attributes of the Greek Athena but has morphed from a warrior goddess into a protectress of young children. Lillian Joyce analyzes the figure of Ariadne on the Black Salone wall paintings in the House of Fabius Rufus in Pompeii. Ariadne's position in this painting is one of active agency, as opposed to her more common depiction as an abandoned maiden rescued by the great god Dionysos. Joyce uses images of Ariadne on a set of cameo glass panels, believed to have been inserted into the walls of the room, as further evidence supporting her thesis. (Wight discusses the same cameo glass panels in her contribution.) Both Joyce and Nagy posit that this refiguring of a Greek deity and a Greek heroine offers glimpses into the ideologies of the populations who were using and viewing them.

In the same way, we might look at Eve D'Ambra's investigation of the seemingly peculiar—to modern eyes—sculptures of Roman matrons in the guise of Venus. The realistically aged faces are placed on nubile, nude Aphrodite body types. Her investigation offers some clues as to the time frame and impetus for such imagery. D'Ambra argues for the enhancement of social status among wealthy Roman women who associated themselves with Venus by displaying her attributes in their portraiture.

Analysis of iconography is also the subject of Mary Louise Hart's chapter on a tripartite piece from Roman Egypt. In Hart's essay, she discusses a triptych of a Roman man flanked by the gods Isis and Serapis. Hart places the object in its museum and collecting contexts and then offers its place in the art historical canon. Hart argues that these three panels functioned as a triptych in a domestic shrine, thus bringing to light an early example of not only a triptych but also an egg tempera painting in antiquity. The triptych looks back to ancient Egyptian prototypes and forward to Christian sacred imagery, the icon. Again, Susan's hand in careful analysis of visual evidence guides this study.

In 1988 Susan's *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture* was published. It described and analyzed religious complexes built from the time of Alexander's conquest through the Parthian period in Mesopotamia. The information gathered in this volume was very valuable because it allowed scholars to examine the evidence in one convenient place. Additionally, traditions that developed in the region were identified and distinguished from those that were imported from other regions with rich architectural traditions, such as Greece and Anatolia. This attention to detail and understanding of ancient architectural techniques, materials, and forms helped inspire a generation of her students. Because of her interest, even students not specifically interested in ancient buildings became aware of the architectural context of two-dimensional and three-dimensional imagery, as we have seen from the examples above.

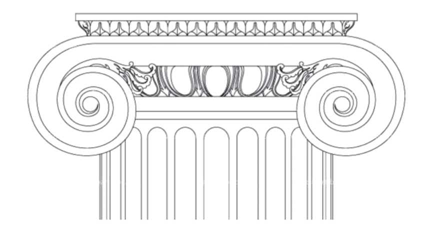
Several of Susan's students chose to focus on architecture as a framework for sculptural programs, as Shanna Kennedy-Quigley's contribution demonstrates. Kennedy-Quigley hypothesizes that Ptolemy I Soter placed a complex sculptural program of Greek philosophers, poets, and deities in the Sarapieion at Saqqara as a means of translating Egyptian ideologies into iconography familiar to new Greek populations. Ptolemy's intent, she suggests, was to help indigenous populations coalesce neatly with the new rulers and their people. Ideally, we might assume, new cultural identity would be formed with the aid of images in the religious complex.

Amanda Herring also addresses the use of a sacred space as a locus of cultural identity. Herring postulates that the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Meander provides evidence of a people asserting their civic identity. At first glance, the temple appears to be a "typical" Greek Hellenistic type. On closer examination, however, as Herring demonstrates, the indigenous character of the building and imagery (focusing on the hero Heracles, another nod to Susan's influence) become clear. According to Herring, the combination of Greek and local styles in the construction of the sanctuary reveals a deliberate effort by the local population to maintain aspects of their Anatolian identity while advertising a public, Greek, civic identity.

Susan's influence shines through in these discussions of cult objects, iconography, and religious architecture. The effect of Susan's long teaching career can also be seen in the broad temporal and geographic parameters of the volume, which are not limited to the Hellenistic/Roman Near East. The imagery of Etruscan tomb painting and the sculpture of the aristocratic Roman matron are joined with paintings from a house in Pompeii. What becomes most evident in the contributions to this volume, however, is the number of surprising and interesting relationships that reveal themselves, because the juxtaposition of images in the volume would not be evident if the articles were published singly. Wight's piece on cameo glass, for example, opens up the discussion of cameo glass found as decoration in the House of Fabius Rufus at Pompeii, discussed by Joyce.

Art historians and archaeologists struggle with how to contextualize the material they uncover and investigate. It becomes particularly troublesome when new material surfaces—often literally. What to do with former conclusions? How do new frames of reference and theory help recast the material? What happens when earlier descriptions are forgotten in the excitement of new discoveries? Should they be reincorporated into the discussion? All of these questions have been addressed successfully in the essays contributed to this Festschrift. Each of the scholars has pushed the narrative forward in some way, allowing future students and scholars to discuss, argue, unravel, rewind, and then create new and interesting postulations and narratives. We hope that this happens here and that in this case, Susan Downey has been the bedrock.

CHAPTER TWO



Menerva on the Couch: A Votive Figurine from Cerveteri of Unusual Iconography[1]

Helen (Ili) Nagy

This essay focuses on a single example of a practice encountered at many Etruscan and Italic sanctuaries that involves the customization of votive terra-cotta figurines to suit specific needs of a local cult or to enrich the repertoire of offering types. I have singled out a figurine from the large Vignaccia votive deposit in Cerveteri to illustrate how the Etruscans manipulated molds used to create figurines by adding or subtracting attributes of a standard type and thereby changing the meaning of a votive object. Such manipulation of identity is also familiar on Etruscan mirrors, where Menerva, for example, is seen caring for small children, in one instance with her breast bared to emphasize her kourotrophic nature (de Grummond 2006:74–77, figure V.6). In the present case, a generic "bride" type has been "converted" into a local type of Menerva associated with the kourotrophic aspect of the cult practiced at the Vignaccia sanctuary in Cerveteri.

A nondescript female figure of surly demeanor seated on a wide bench, or *kline* (Figure 2.1), is one of hundreds of votive terra-cottas from the Vignaccia in the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California–Berkeley.[2] The *kline* is covered by a cloth; its legs are the elaborate volute type with a wide footstool (Steingräber 1979:Klinentyp 3b; Fussbanktyp 2b). The figure sits upright, arms close to her body, with the right hand stretched out flat on her thigh, while the left hand, also on her thigh, grasps a round object, most likely a pomegranate. She wears a pleated chiton with a *kolpos* and a short smooth garment (aegis) over this. A smooth mantle covers her legs and dips slightly between them. The lower edge of the chiton



Figure 2.1. Menerva on kline. (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California–Berkeley, inv. no. 8-2561; used by permission)

projects below the hem of the mantle and dips over the feet. A smooth folded cloth is spread across the lap. She wears a triple-crested helmet, a bead necklace, and pointed shoes. The figure's head is large, with heavy, severe features; ropelike strands of hair fall to her shoulders. The back of the figure is smooth and rounded, but not modeled, and the *kline* is open, without a back. Based on the attribute of the helmet, the figure may be identified as Menerva (the Etruscan Athena), although she lacks all other attributes of the goddess.

The figurine of Menerva on the *kline* is one of around 800 votive terra-cottas from the Vignaccia sanctuary, purchased in 1902 by Phoebe A. Hearst for the museum (formerly the Lowie Museum of Anthropology) that now bears her name (Nagy 1988:1–2). The original find was said to have included more than 6,000 terra-cottas. Many pieces from this find are dispersed in collections throughout the world (Maule and Smith 1959:40, 91, 101–102; Nagy 1988:1–2).

For the present, the Menerva on the couch is unique among the extant material from this site. While Menerva is represented in several seated examples among the Vignaccia finds[3] (Figure 2.2), this is the



Figure 2.2. Enthroned Menerva. (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California–Berkeley, inv. no. 2431; used by permission)

only instance in which her only identifying attribute is the helmet. The seated types include the attributes of the gorgoneion on the aegis, a shield on her left side, and an owl on either side of the backrest of her throne. Several examples show Menerva standing, holding a shield (round or oval) to her left side (Figures 2.3a, 2.3b).[4]

While the iconography of the Menerva on the *kline* is unusual, the style and technique connect her with her counterparts from the Vignaccia. Squat body proportions, ropelike strands of hair, staring countenance, details emphasized by ridges, and the helmet type unite these figures and suggest that they are the product of a





Figures 2.3a–2.3b. Standing Menerva, front and back. (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California–Berkeley, inv. no. 8-2464; used by permission)

local workshop characterized by a linear treatment of details and ridge-like exaggeration of features.[5] The unusual treatment of the crest of the helmet in the unworked backs of several of these figures is another idiosyncrasy of this group. This style may be dated to the late fifth/early fourth century B.C.E.

The collection of the Danish National Museum includes a terra-cotta figurine, said to be from Cerveteri, that closely resembles the Menerva in composition (Figure 2.4).[6] A veiled female figure sits on a broad "couch" covered by a folded cloth or cushion. Her feet rest on a narrow footstool. She wears a long chiton and a himation over her back and her left shoulder and brought across her lap. The hem of the chiton projects below the mantle. She wears pointed shoes. This woman's features are softer than Menerva's, and her hair is pulled back, covered by the veil. She wears round earrings. While the general composition is similar to the Menerva on the *kline,* the Copenhagen figure is not by the same workshop as the Berkeley Menerva. Breitenstein suggested a date in the fifth century B.C.E. The Cerveteri provenance and the date of purchase (1910) suggest that this figure may also have belonged to the Vignaccia find. While the figure in Denmark is easily



Figure 2.4. Woman seated on a kline. (Courtesy of the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, National Museum of Denmark, inv. no. 6587)

associated with either a marriage rite or a goddess with connections to marriage and fertility, the depiction of Menerva in the same context invites further explanation.

A preponderance of votive terra-cottas at the Vignaccia points to a cult deeply concerned with fertility and care, especially of infants. Images of kourotrophoi outnumber other categories; occur standing, seated, and in pairs; and persist through all chronological phases of the sanctuary (Nagy 1988:36–38). Extant anatomical votives are few, but in 1886 Borsari noted a large number of them at the site (Borsari 1886:38). They were probably deemed unworthy for sale on the market and were discarded. In an earlier study I suggested that Artumes as kourotrophos was the chief goddess at the Vignaccia.[7] In addition to Artumes, a number of other divinities are represented among the votives at the Vignaccia. This polytheism is by no means unusual; "visiting gods" occur in Greek as well as Italic sanctuaries (Alroth 1987, 1989). In other words, "In the votive terracottas of an Italic temple the place of merely reverent type (priests, acolytes or worshippers) is largely taken by a miscellany of reverend types, a retinue of other gods" (Maule and Smith 1959:13).

Many of the votive figures from the Vignaccia deposit rely on prototypes from Magna Graecia. For example, the most popular type of votive head in the deposit (Figure 2.5) finds close parallels at sites in southern Italy and Sicily, but the similarity is restricted to the face and hair; jewelry and headdress are local Etruscan substitutions for the southern Italian *polos* or diadem.[8] In general, Magna Graecia and Sicily played an important role in the transmission of Greek



Figure 2.5. Female head. (Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California– Berkeley, inv. no. 6713; used by permission)

stylistic and iconographic types found in numerous Italic (Etruscan and Latin) sanctuaries (Fenelli 1989–90:489–503; Graf 2001:131–137). The woman on the couch in Copenhagen (Figure 2.4) belongs to the category of types influenced by the Greek style of Magna Graecia. Similar, if not identical, compositions were offered to a variety of divinities, especially Demeter, but also Athena Lindia (Hadzisteliou-Price 1978:154–156, 170–186). The connection with marriage, or coming of age, is indicated by the veil, the *kline,* and the cloth across the lap of the figure. The iconography persists in the last scene of the Bacchic cycle of Room 5 in the Villa of the Mysteries, where the young woman, having endured the stages of the ritual, is seated as a bride on a *kline* wearing new garments, including a veil (Brendel 1980; Gazda 2000:figure 1.4, no. 28).

Menerva on the couch at the Vignaccia (Figure 2.1) is also defined by the couch, the fruit she holds, and the lack of her usual attributes as a divinity related to marriage or to a young woman's transition to marriage.[9] Her helmet, however, identifies her as Menerva, as opposed to the more generic young woman of the Copenhagen type. In the Greek world, Athena Ergane functioned as the protector of women's activities, such as weaving (Graf 2001:134, note 39, 137–138). A large marble seated statue from the Athenian Acropolis (Acropolis Museum 625) has been connected with the statue by Endoios, mentioned by Pausanias (I.25.4) (Hurwitt 1999:125–126, figure 99; Nagy 1998:182, figure 20:1; Ridgway 1993:196–197, 432–433). Whether or not this identification can be accepted, it is quite certain that Athena Ergane had a sanctuary on the Acropolis and received dedications from workingmen as well as -women (Van Straten 1981:65–151). Inscribed dedications naming Athena Ergane specifically begin only in the fourth century B.C.E. on the Acropolis, but a terra-cotta plaque in the Acropolis Museum (inv. no. 13055)—dated to about 500 B.C.E., depicting a woman (mortal or Athena) spinning, seated on a *kline* with a footstool—has been associated with this cult (Hurwitt 1999:16, figure 17). The precinct of Ergane is thought to have been located at the northwestern corner of the Parthenon terrace, where fragments of a parapet depicting the birth of Pandora have been found (Hurwitt 1999:189–190, 355, note 43).

In Magna Graecia and Sicily, Athena cults were at times connected to those practiced in their founding cities, for example, Gela, founded by Rhodians where Athena Lindia enjoyed a thriving cult (Fiorentini 1985:11–20; Hadzisteliou-Price 1978:154–156; Hinz 1998:65–66). At Himera, a secondary colony founded by Zankle, Athena served as the city's protector (Allegro 1999:269–301), and Syracuse, founded by Corinth, built an imposing temple to Athena, described by Cicero (*Verres* II, 4, 124–125). In each case, the role of the goddess was adapted to the needs of the community so that she was worshipped as protectress, as Ergane, or as warrior.

Athena Ergane, especially as protectress of women's activities such as weaving, is the most flexible iconographic type, stretched to include protection

of marriage, and ultimately of health. A small relief in the Sibaris Museum from the Timpone della Motta sanctuary at Francavilla (Figure 2.6) depicts a figure seated on a throne in a *naiskos,* the lintel of which is decorated by a stylized garland (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993:8–9, figures 6, 11b). The figure's lap is covered by a folded garment, and she wears a *polos* headdress. The relief is dated to about 640–630 B.C.E. and resembles the Anatolian Cybele type often depicted in a *naiskos* (Roller 1999). She has been identified as an early form of Athena Ergane on contextual evidence (Kleibrink et al. 2004:57–63). The *polos* is a headdress that derives from the Near East and is associated with divinities of nature and fertility. The Timpone della Motta goddess is associated with generative powers and combines the protective nature of Athena with the fertility aspects of Anatolian divinities such as Cybele.[10] The cult at the Timpone della Motta was closely associated with Athena Ilias, who is usually depicted with a spear and spindle on coins from Troy and elsewhere in Asia Minor, as well as in a small figurine from the Timpone site



Figure 2.6. Goddess in a naiskos. (From the Timone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima; in the collection of the Sibaris Museum. After Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993:figure 11b)

(Bellinger 1938:12–17, plates 1–8; Russo 1996:523–539).

Perhaps also in Etruria, a very early native divinity received the name and iconography of a type of Athena Ergane. Etruscan Menerva has a distinctly kourotrophic aspect and is connected with healing and coming-of-age cults at Italic sanctuaries, such as Lavinium (Torelli 1984:19–71). At the Vignaccia, she is probably a "visiting" goddess, helping with these aspects of the cult. In the case of our Menerva on the couch, a generic representation of a young woman or divinity connected with marriage was customized to stress Menerva's role in this rite. The use of the "indigenous" style emphasizes the local aspect of this transformation. This is but one small example of the kind of adaptation and customization practiced at Italic sanctuaries to fulfill the scope and needs of cults.

Notes

1 This brief essay combines two significant aspects of my work with Susan Downey: a seated figure and Etruscan culture. Susan saw me through my dissertation, "The Seated Figure in Archaic Greek Sculpture," with immense patience, much constructive criticism, and sound advice. It is to a great extent thanks to her inspiring Etruscan art class and her interest in "provincial" Roman art forms that I dedicated most of my academic career to Etruscan scholarship. Susan's infectious enthusiasm for teaching inspired me throughout my 30 years in the classroom. I offer this brief essay with deepest gratitude to my teacher and friend.

2 Phoebe A. Hearst Museum, no. 8-2561. Nagy 1988:no. IIB16c, 196, plate 60, figure 172; height 24.2 cm; width 21.3 cm.

3 Seated, Berkeley: Nagy 1988:194–196, IIB16 series: 8-2431, 8-2559, 8-2560, and 8-2563. Two of these, 8-2431 and 8-2559, indicate the continuation of the crest of the helmet in the back of the figure. Collections with similar examples include Siena, Munich, and Berlin (see the comparanda under the IIB16 series).

4 See Nagy 1988:IIA4 series, 135–136. These also have the unusual continuation of the crest of the helmet in the otherwise flat, unworked back. Again, the comparanda include examples in Siena and Berlin.

5 The Vignaccia deposit includes other iconographic types in this style: musicians, a warrior type, standing figures holding objects, and kourotrophoi. I call this the "indigenous style" of the Vignaccia (Nagy 1988:20). See also Maule 1977:494 for a definition of this style.

6 Inv. no. 6587; height 31.5 cm. Breitenstein 1941:83, no. 784, plate 97. Provenance: Cerveteri, acquired in Rome, 1910. Riis 1941:119, plate 3.2, considered the figure to represent a goddess.

7 Nagy 1989–90:729–739. At this same conference, D. Gentili (1989–90) proposed Uni/Hera as the recipient of the cult at the Manganello sanctuary at Cerveteri. Both Uni and Artumes have kourotrophic aspects, and certain types of votives, such as the seated females with children, occur at both sites. Both sanctuaries catered to health and fertility, under different divine protection. For a brief discussion of aspects of the two sanctuaries, see Nagy 2011:120–124.

8 Nagy 1988:66–108, types IA16–IA23 have parallels especially in Taranto, Morgantina, and Syracuse, but mostly with *polos* headdress. Syracuse example: Hinz 1998:109, figure 17.

9 Attributes at Lavinium, a cult of kourotophic Athena, include pomegranates: Fenelli 1989–90:494–495. Bride seated on a *kline*: Pugliese Caratteli 1996:727, no. 293.1.

10 For example, the Phrygian Cybele in a *naiskos* from Boğazköy in the Ankara Museum: Bittel 1963.

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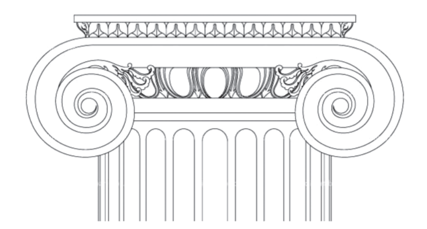
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CHAPTER THREE



A New Interpretation of the Mounted Hunters in the Mithraeum of Dura-Europos

Lucinda Dirven

The mithraeum discovered in 1934 in the ancient city of Dura-Europos, in present-day Syria, is one of the most richly decorated religious buildings from a town well-known for its spectacular finds. Unfortunately, it is also one of the least studied and most badly published buildings from this site.[1] Susan Downey's discussion of the two Mithraic cult reliefs in her renowned publication of the stone and plaster sculptures from Dura-Europos is one of the few exceptions (Downey 1977:217–225).[2] In her thorough analysis of the two reliefs, Downey pays ample attention to the question of whether it is possible to distinguish iconographic features that are typical of the cult of Mithras in Syria. Franz Cumont and Michael Rostovtzeff, who were the first to study and publish the mithraeum, both argued that Dura-Europos's proximity to Mithras's presumed birthplace, Iran, resulted in several deviant, Eastern features in its iconography. Both state that these Iranian elements come to the fore chiefly in the sculptures from the early mithraeum but also figure in a number of paintings dated to a later phase, such as the two seated Persian figures and the two hunting scenes.[3] After a careful comparison with other Mithraic monuments, Downey concludes that this is not the case. She argues that only the style of these Mithraic images is local; their iconography fits in with what is known about the cult elsewhere in the Roman Empire (Downey 1977:219; 1978:143).[4]

Over the past 20 years, several new discoveries urge us to question a view that seemed utterly sound at the time and was followed by many, including myself (Beck 1984:2011; De Jong 2000:59;

Dirven 1999:268–269).[5] Recent finds, such as the paintings of the mithraeum of Huarte in northern Syria and the Syrian cult relief that turned up in Jerusalem several years ago, throw a radically different light on the Syrian characteristics of Mithras's cult and urge us to reevaluate previously known monuments, such as the Dura-Europos mithraeum.[6] The present contribution is a modest beginning of such a reevaluation, by means of a new interpretation of two of the most remarkable paintings from the Dura-Europos mithraeum, the so-called hunting scenes.[7] Hopefully, this case study illustrates how new finds and contemporary ideas on the role of astrology in the layout, decoration, and ritual of the Mithraic cult urge us to reinterpret and reevaluate monuments that are long known. It is with reverence that I offer it to a scholar who is of such crucial importance to the study of Dura-Europos and to whom my work owes so much.

In all studies published so far, the protagonist of the two panels that depict a Persian horseman shooting animals was unanimously identified as Mithras himself. The paintings from Huarte open up the possibility that we are in fact dealing with two characters instead of one. By analogy to representations from Mithraic sanctuaries throughout the Roman world, I argue that the two riders ought to be identified as Cautes and Cautopates. Although the iconography of the mounted hunters is in itself highly unusual, it fits perfectly with recent interpretations of the spatial and symbolic arrangements of mithraea throughout the Roman world. In the final section of this article I argue that the popularity of twin divine riders in Syrian cults may very well explain the choice for this unusual iconography. But since context is crucial to a proper interpretation of the two paintings, I start with an overview of the building and its figurative monuments before turning to a more detailed description of the two paintings and their meaning.

Description of the Monument

The Dura-Europos mithraeum is located in Block J7, close to the northwest corner of the city.[8] We may distinguish three phases in its building history. Since little is known about the first two stages, and only the final stage is important for the present discussion, I confine the following description to the third and last stage.

The earliest datable evidence of the shrine consists of two small bas-reliefs that were encased in the back wall of the cult niche of the final shrine and that are dated to 168 and 170–171 C.E. by the dedicatory inscriptions. There is no evidence that an earlier mithraeum occupied the spot, and from this it may be inferred that the coming of Mithras in Dura-Europos coincided with the beginning of Roman control in 165 C.E. (Dirven 1999:260). The two reliefs were dedicated by members of the Cohors XX Palmyrenorum and show that the mithraeum was founded by Palmyrene bowmen who served in the Roman army. Both reliefs picture Mithras killing the bull, a scene that conventionally serves as the cult image in mithraea throughout the Roman world (Bjørnebye 2007:98–111).

The greater part of the final building dates to the second building stage, which took place between 209 and 211 C.E. and was initiated by a centurion of the legions IV Scythia and XVI Flavia Firma. It is made up of a large rectangular room with benches on each side and cult reliefs set into the wall at the far end, opposite the entrance. This is the usual arrangement of mithraea throughout the empire (Bjørnebye 2007:13–20). Contrary to most mithraea, the Dura-Europos building was entirely above the ground, an anomaly that is explained by the natural conditions of the site.

Apart from the construction of a raised platform preceded by seven steps in the cult niche, the third and last phase, dated to 240 C.E., involved little building. The shrine was, however, extensively redecorated at this stage (Figure 3.1). Around the outer edge of the larger bas-relief were painted 13 small scenes that resemble the arch-stones of a cylindrical vault. These scenes include cosmological events as well as scenes from Mithras's life and largely concur with the images we find on either side of cult reliefs and paintings in the West.[9] The cycle starts with the keystone and has to be read counterclockwise. The soffit of the vaulted niche was decorated with pictures of the 12 signs of the zodiac. Like the mythological scenes, the series starts at the top of the vault and reads counterclockwise. The first two signs, Aries and Taurus, have disappeared. Below are Gemini, Cancer, Leo, and Virgo. The series continues at the bottom on the right with Libra, followed by Scorpio, Sagittarius, and Capricorn. The two upper signs, Aquarius and Pisces, are missing.

On either side of the piers of the niche are two seated male figures that are unique in the iconography of Mithras. Both are bearded and are clad in Parthian dress. Each holds a scroll in his hand. The figure on the left side holds a staff that is pointing down, whereas the staff of his companion is pointed upward (Burkert 1987:70; Cumont 1975:182–183; Rostovtzeff 1934:110–111). Phrygian bonnet and staff are well-attested attributes of



Figure 3.1. Overview of the decoration of the cult niche. The hunting panels are on the two sidewalls. (Courtesy Matthew McCarty and Samuel Major)

the *pater,* the religious leader of Mithraic communities, and it is probable that they are to be identified as such.[10] Above these two figures, the upper part of the outer surface of the arch is decorated with the figure of the bull-slaying Mithras in the center, with the figure of Cautes with raised torch to his left. The figure to his right is completely lost, but here we may reconstruct his twin brother, Cautopates, with lowered torch. On either side of this group are seven cypress trees, alternated with seven altars. In the midst of the foliage of the tree next to Cautopates is the small figure of a naked child.

On the sidewalls of the adytum, on either side of the cult reliefs, are two paintings of a figure in Parthian dress on horseback hunting animals (Cumont 1934:102; 1975:186–192, plate 24; Rostovtzeff 1934:190–195, plate 13; 1939:112–115, plates XIV, XV; Vermaseren 1956:no. 52). The painting on the left wall is the best preserved (Plate 3.1). The figure gallops toward the cult niche and aims his bow at the four deer and the boar, which have all been hit by his arrows.[11] Below the horse is a large snake, and a female lion leaps just in front. Since an arrow has hit neither of them, they are probably companions of the rider. The horseman faces full front, whereas his body is in three-quarter view. On his head is a Phrygian bonnet, and he wears a long-sleeved tunic and trousers that are both decorated with an embroidered band. The hunting takes place in a field of small plants and trees.

The painting to the left of the cult niche is far more damaged, but what remains indicates that it was very similar to its counterpart on the other side of the niche (Plate 3.2). This horseman, however, is moving away from the niche, as are the animals he is hunting (Figure 3.1). Among these are at least three deer, which have all been hit by the hunter's arrows. The status of the adult lion that runs in front of the horse is not clear.[12] A lion cub replaces the snake below the horse. The boar is missing altogether.

A New Interpretation

All interpretations of the hunting scenes that have been proposed so far depart from the assumption that the two panels picture the god Mithras himself. This no doubt results from the fact that the horsemen, with their Parthian dress and Phrygian caps, look like Mithras, as well as from analogy to other representations of a hunting Mithras riding a horse. Until recently, only three parallels to the mounted bowman Mithras were known; all of them originate from Germania.[13] However, these images not only differ significantly among themselves; they also differ considerably from the Durene paintings. Firstly, the Germanic representations frequently associate the hunt with representations of the cultic meal, a relationship that is less explicit in Dura-Europos.[14] Even more important is the fact that all parallels picture only one hunter, whereas in Dura-Europos we find two.

Comparison with the representations from Germania urges us to question why the horseman is represented twice in Dura-Europos. Of course, one could argue (as in fact it has been argued) that we are dealing with one figure pictured twice.[15] But it is equally possible to suppose that

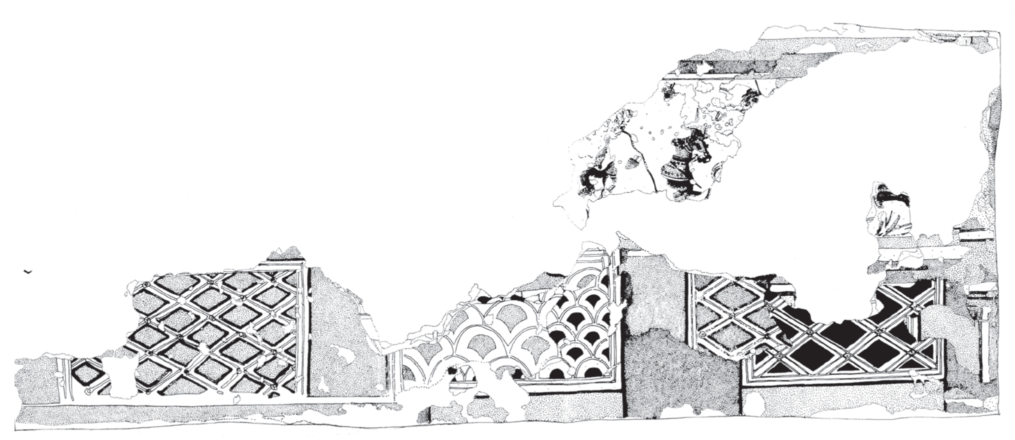


Figure 3.2. Persian riders, southwest corner of the cult room of the mithraeum in Huarte, Syria. (Drawing by M. Puszkarski. Courtesy Polish mission in Huarte)

the two paintings represent two different figures. This possibility is confirmed by mural paintings recently discovered in the mithraeum of Huarte, in the proximity of Apamea (Gawlikowski 2007). This mithraeum, with paintings dated to the end of the fourth century, has highly unusual representations in its vestibule, whereas scenes that illustrate the Mithras myth decorate the walls of the cult room proper. Not only is it highly unusual to find such narrative scenes as decoration on the walls instead of on the cult relief, but some of the scenes are very extraordinary in themselves.

Among these unusual representations in Huarte is a badly damaged painting near the southwest corner that depicts a hunting party. According to Gawlikowski, who provides a description of the painting, two horses are advancing in stately fashion to the right (Gawlikowski 2007:358–360, figures 17, 17a)(Figure 3.2).[16] The riders have Phrygian caps and hold spears that are raised diagonally. In the next panel, on the west wall, several animals are pictured running to the right (Plate 3.3). In the upper left corner are a stag, a boar, and a panther. In front of them is a bear. Gawlikowski conjectures from these animals that the horsemen are in fact hunting. In view of the Phrygian caps, he assumes that one of the riders is Mithras, but he has no clue as to the identity of his companion.

Figures in Persian dress associated with horses are seen in the vestibule of the Huarte mithraeum, where they flank the entrance to the cult room (Gawlikowski 2007:353, figure 9; Gordon 2001b:111, figure 18). The rider to the left of the entrance holds a black monstrous creature on a leash (Plate 3.4). So far, these two horsemen have baffled interpretation, since they are without exact parallels in Mithraic iconography.[17] Although I am unable to find a satisfactory explanation for these figures, it is important to note that they recall the situation in the Dura mithraeum, where two horsemen decorate both sides of the cult niche.[18]

The fact that the hunting scene in Huarte pictures two, instead of one, horsemen with Phrygian caps brings to mind the situation in Dura, where two hunters with Phrygian caps are pictured, albeit in different panels. The twin horsemen from Dura in turn resemble the two horsemen that flank the entrance to the mithraeum in Huarte. The paintings from Huarte therefore introduce the possibility that in Dura two individual horsemen were represented, instead of one. If we now think of two figures from Mithraic iconography who look like Mithras and who are very similar to each other, but at the same time different from him, the torchbearers Cautes and Cautopates immediately spring to mind.

As is well-known, Cautes and Cautopates are highly common in Mithraic sanctuaries, where they either flank the tauroctony scene, the entrance of the mithraeum, or the cult niche; are pictured on the left and right benches; or figure in events from Mithras's life (Beck 1982,1984:2084–2086; Clauss 2000:95–98; Hinnells 1976). In Dura-Europos, the two torchbearers are omitted in the two cult reliefs but are present in the tauroctony above the arch, where Cautopates is pictured to Mithras's right and Cautes to his left. The two representations of the hunters on the sidewalls of the cult niche bring to mind figures of Cautopates and Cautes placed at the entrance of the mithraeum, on either side of the cult niche, or on the benches.[19]

Although Cautes and Cautopates appear in many forms and are associated with many events, it is clear that they are not only manifestations of Mithras, as Cumont (1896:208) suggested, but are also opposites both of each other and in relation to Mithras. As such they represent day and night, the rising and the setting sun, heat and cold, life and death, spring and autumn, etc. (Gordon 1988:55–56). I shall come back to the meaning of Cautes and Cautopates shortly. Important for now is the fact that they constitute a set of opposites in both image and meaning.

In view of this characteristic of the two brothers, the differences between the two paintings become highly significant. So far, all studies have concentrated on the variation in the animal companions of the riders. Although these differences are probably significant as well, this has caused people to overlook the most obvious fact, which is that the riders are moving in different directions. They are, in other words, moving in circles, with the tauroctony at their center. This evokes the images of the torchbearers who flank Mithras killing the bull with their raised and lowered torches. That this cyclic movement was indeed important in the Dura-Europos mithraeum is apparent from the two *patres* on either side of the cult niche with their downward and upward pointing staffs.

In establishing the identity of these two riders, it makes sense to identify the figure who moves toward the cult niche as Cautopates, who points his torch down, in the direction of the bull-slaying scene, and the horseman who moves away as Cautes, who is invariably represented with a raised torch that points away from the killing.[20] This identification indeed fits best with the different animal companions of the riders, for it is Cautopates who is

sometimes associated with the snake, the animal of the earth and water,[21] whereas the lion accords well with the figure of Cautes, who personifies heat and fire.[22]

The fact that the torch, the most common attribute of Cautes and Cautopates, is omitted in the hunting scenes is not a decisive argument against their identification. Torches are common only when Cautes and Cautopates flank the killing of the bull. When they figure in other scenes from Mithras's life, such as his rock birth, his shooting of water from the rock, the preparation of the banquet, or the feast of Mithras and Sol, torches are frequently omitted. Furthermore, in addition to torches, the two figures may carry a number of other attributes and are associated with various animals (Hinnells 1976). Among these attributes is the bow, which immediately brings to mind the weapon of the two horsemen from Dura-Europos.[23]

The Meaning of Cautes and Cautopates in the Mithraeum

If I am correct in identifying the two hunters as Cautes and Cautopates, then what meaning can be ascribed to these scenes? Although the association of the twin brothers with horses is not easily explained, some general remarks can be made on their meaning with respect to the ritual space of the mithraeum. A key text in contemporary interpretations of the spatial and symbolic arrangement of the Mithraic sanctuary is Porphyry's *De antro Nympharum* (Beck 1984:2053–2055). Departing from this text, Richard Gordon, in his analysis of the mithraeum of Sette Sfere in Ostia, stresses the mithraeum as the locus of the spiritual journey between earth and heaven.[24] Concomitantly, it represents the movement of the cosmos, the heavens. The two hunters in Dura-Europos should be interpreted in this light.

Porphyry tells us that the mithraeum functioned as the place of initiation into the mystery of the "descent and exit of souls" and that it was designed and equipped for this purpose as a likeness (*eikona*) of the cosmos:

> Similarly, the Persians call the place a cave where they introduce an initiate into the mysteries, revealing to him the path by which souls descend and go back again. For Eubulus tells us that Zoroaster was the first to dedicate a natural cave in honour of Mithras, the creator and father of all. . . . This cave bore for him the image of the cosmos which Mithras had created, and the things which the cave contained, by their proportionate arrangement, provided him with symbols of the elements and climates of the cosmos. (*De ant. Nymph.* 6, trans. Arethusa edition)

According to Porphyry, the gates through which the human soul enters and leaves the world are located at the solstices; the entry is at the northern tropic (Cancer) and the exit at the southern (Capricorn):

> To Mithras as his proper seat, they assigned the equinoxes. As creator and master of genesis, Mithras is set at the equator with the northern signs to his right and the southern signs to

> his left. They set Cautes to the south because of its heat and Cautopates to the north because of the coldness of its wind. (*De ant. Nymph.* 24, trans. Arethusa edition)

The proper seat of Mithras is represented by the bull killing. On his right, Mithras has the northern signs with Cautopates, and on his left he has the southern signs with Cautes. In Sette Sfere these signs are represented on the benches; in Dura-Europos they are represented in the soffit of the vaulted niche of the arch around the bull-slaying scenes. As in Sette Sfere, the northern signs are to Mithras's right and the southern signs are to his left.[25] In Sette Sfere, the setting of Cautes to the north and Cautopates to the south is represented by the torchbearers, who are represented at the bench ends. Midway between the bench is a niche, which represents the solstices—they are the midpoints and symbolize the gates of genesis and apogenesis (Gordon 1976:127–130). That a similar belief prevailed in Dura-Europos follows from a graffito on one of the columns along the "north" bench, which is helpfully labeled "eisodos, exodus"—"entrance, exit."[26] Genesis and apogenesis of the soul are in turn related to the seven stages of initiation that were crucial to the cult.[27] That these seven grades were important in the worship of Mithras at Dura as well follows from the numerous graffiti that refer to these grades, the seven steps that lead up to the cult niche, and the number seven, which figures prominently in its painted and sculpted decoration (on the graffiti: Rostovtzeff 1939:116, 118).

Porphyry suggests that Cautopates presides over entry and descent into mortality and that Cautes presides over exit and ascent into immortality (Beck 2000:158). It follows from *De ant. Nymph.* 6 that the Mithraists designed and furnished their mithraeum as a model of the cosmos in order to introduce their initiates into the mystery of this double process of the soul's entry and exit. Miming the solar journey with a mithraeum therefore necessarily imitates the genesis and apogenesis of the soul and explains why in the mithraeum Cautes is invariably placed to Mithras's left and Cautopates to his right. The arrangement of the two horsemen in Dura-Europos therefore tallies with the placement of Cautes and Cautopates in numerous other mithraea. Despite their deviant form, these twin riders fulfill the same role as Cautes and Cautopates on the benches of the Sette Sfere mithraeum and symbolize genesis and apogenesis.

Twin Brothers, Horses, and Dioskouroi

Although the meaning of the twin horsemen is in line with the symbolism of Cautes and Cautopates elsewhere in the Roman Empire, their appearance as hunting riders is highly exceptional. According to Cumont, the prominence of these mounted hunters in Dura-Europos is explained by the Palmyrene archers who founded the mithraeum. He notes that the hunting scenes in Dura-Europos resemble representations of Persian royal hunts and concludes that these paintings reflect Iranian ideas that must have been current in a place so close to the Parthian border.[28]

Susan Downey (1978:148) rightly rejects this explanation. Not only are Iranian influences virtually absent in Dura-Europos, but Palmyrene bowmen were no longer the most important clientele during the final phase of the mithraeum. The majority of the soldiers who served at Dura-Europos at the time came from elsewhere.[29]

Downey (1978:148) suggested that the prominence of the mounted Persian hunter in the Dura-Europos mithraeum was due to the popularity of armed rider gods in Syria, especially among the seminomadic population of the Syrian–Mesopotamian steppe. When one assumes that the mounted hunter is in fact Mithras himself, this explanation is problematic, since it does not explain the representations of Mithras Ephippos found outside Syria. But now that the paintings from Huarte make clear that they are in fact twin riders, a motif that seems confined to Syria, the picture changes. In Syria, mounted warrior gods are frequently worshipped in pairs, such as Azizos and Monimos, Arsu and Azidu, etc. (Seyrig 1970:77–112). The explanation thereby fits even better than before. Highly evocative in this respect is the remark by the emperor Julian in his oration on King Helios that in Edessa, a place that according to Julian has been devoted to the worship of the sun since time memorial, the sun is associated with Azizos and Monimos. Azizos, the sun's precursor, is the morning star, who goes before Helios in procession. Although this is not explicitly stated, it may be assumed that Monimus is the evening star.[30] These manifestations of the Venus star were extremely popular in a Semitic milieu, and this at least partly explains the popularity of these divine twins in the Syrian–Mesopotamian steppe (Henninger 1976:129–168). The fact that they are the sun's precursors of course reminds one of the role of Cautes and Cautopates in relation to Mithras. What remains unsolved, however, is the fact that the Dura-Europos horsemen are hunting. Although the mounted gods of the desert carry arms, they are never represented chasing animals. The hunting motif was possibly inspired by the notion of Mithras as hunter (both of the bull and wild game). Mithras could after all function as a manifestation of the two brothers.

Divine mounted warriors like Azizos and Monimos or Arsu and Azidu were sometimes identified with the Castores or Dioskouroi (Augé and Linant de Bellefonds 1986:593–597; Drijvers 1980:172). Not far from Dura-Europos, in Khirbet Semrine in the Palmyrene, was found a relief in which the god Abgal—one of the so-called deities of the desert—is identified with Castor (Schlumberger 1951:56, no. 17, plate XXI, 4). Horses are commonly associated with these Dioskouroi and thus recall the mounted Persian hunters from Dura-Europos and the riders from Huarte.[31] In fact, a correlation between the Dioskouroi and Cautes and Cautopates is not unique to Dura-Europos or Huarte and is, for example, found in the floor mosaic of the mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia. Here, the two *piloi* of the Dioskouroi, with their typical pointed stars, are represented at the foot of the ladder that pictures the



Figure 3.3. Floor mosaic in the mithraeum of Felicissimus, Ostia; crater with the two piloi of the Dioskouroi after the entrance of the mithraeum. (Photo by Lucinda Dirven)

seven grades of initiation (Vermaseren 1956:no. 134) (Figure 3.3). The presence of the Dioskouroi in this context is highly suggestive, for like Cautes and Cautopates, they are frequently associated with the hemispheres and thus symbolize light and darkness, day and night, life and death.[32] The myth in which Castor and Pollux alternate each other in life and death of course fits very well with the genesis and apogenesis associated with Cautes and Cautopates.

Conclusion

The iconography of a pair of Persian hunters is confined to Syrian mithraea. The paintings from Huarte, as well as the placement of the two panels in the mithraeum of Dura-Europos, suggest that the two hunters do not represent Mithras himself but are his acolytes Cautes and Cautopates. The position of these two figures in the ritual space of the Dura-Europos mithraeum resembles the arrangement of Cautes and Cautopates in

mithraea elsewhere in the Roman world. Here as well as elsewhere, they probably denote the genesis and apogenesis of the soul. Their association with horses results from their identification with divine twin riders who traditionally function as the armed escort of the sun in a Semitic milieu. This implies that a visual idiom with particular resonance in Syria was chosen to convey a symbolism that was shared by Mithraic communities across the empire.

Notes

1 Preliminary reports were published by both Franz Cumont and Michael Rostovtzeff in 1934. The official preliminary report of the mithraeum was published by Rostovtzeff in 1939. Rostovtzeff leans heavily upon the reports and notes of his good friend Cumont, with whom he investigated the building on the spot. It was planned that Cumont would write the final report of the mithraeum, but for unknown reasons he never finished this project. After his death in 1944, the manuscript entered the Yale Archives, where it was taken up by E. D. Francis, who published it in 1975 in the acta of the Mithraic conference of Teheran. Vermaseren (1956:nos. 34–70) is based on Rostovtzeff (1939). Given the preliminary and incomplete state of the publication of the Dura mithraeum, the radical changes in our perception of Mithraism, and the new discoveries in Syria, Matthew McCarty and I have launched an international research group that intends to reevaluate the Dura mithraeum.

2 Downey (1978) follows the same line of argument but also takes the paintings from the later period into consideration.

3 Both Cumont and Rostovtzeff argue that the two cult reliefs set up by Palmyrene archers display peculiarities that indicate that Mithraism in Palmyra derived directly from Asia Minor, where it underwent a separate development in a Semitic milieu: Cumont 1934:96; 1975:168; Rostovtzeff 1934:186; 1939:111. When the influence of the Roman army grew and the Mithraic community got larger, Durene craftsmen conformed their mithraeum to Mithraic orthodoxy. Thus the Dura-Europos mithraeum was taken by Cumont (1975:177) as proof of the essential unity in both ritual and artistic decoration throughout the empire. Cumont is followed by Rostovtzeff (1939:111) and Campbell (1968:176–177). The only variations on this orthodoxy are, in Cumont's view, the paintings of the so-called magi (interpreted as patres in the present article) and the hunting scenes. For a summary of Cumont's position, see Beck 1984:2014–2016.

4 In an independent study, Roll (1977) arrived at similar conclusions.

5 In a recent article (Dirven and McCarty 2014:125–142), Matthew McCarty and I returned to the vexed problem of local or provincial idiom in Mithraic art. Here we argued that there is considerable flexibility in the visual idioms used throughout the empire but that local idiom was used in several instances (such as the mithraeum from Dura-Europos) to express significances shared by Mithraic communities throughout the empire.

6 On Huarte see Gawlikowski (2007), with references to previous publications. On the relief that is now in the museum in Jerusalem, see De Jong (2000).

7 Cumont (1975:186) considered it the most remarkable of all the compositions executed by the artists in Dura. Beck (1984:2011) refers to the hunt of Mithras as one of the major discoveries since Cumont's publication of *Textes et monuments figurés relatives aux mystères de Mithra* (1896 and 1899).

8 The following description is based on Cumont (1934, 1975) and Rostovtzeff (1934, 1939). I specify only the source with deviant descriptions and the hunting fresco's.

9 On these scenes and the vexed question of whether they represent a sacred narrative, see Gordon 1980:200–227. For my own position in this complicated discussion, see Dirven 2015:30–36.

10 See Gordon (2001a:255–258) on the attributes and the authority of the *pater*. Compare Dirven and McCarty (2014:131, figure 8.6), where it is pointed out that this symbolism was probably inspired by the twin torchbearers.

11 There is a lot of discussion on the status of the boar. For an overview of this discussion, see the postscript by E. D. Francis to Cumont (1975:214): In Herbert Gute's reproduction of the scene and in the painting now on display at Yale, the boar is hit by an arrow, like the deer. According to some (notably Bivar 1995:31, with references to previous publications), this arrow is a later addition. He argues that there are no clear outlines of a broken arrow at the back of the boar on the first pictures of the fresco and that a smudge of dirt on the fresco was accidentally identified as such. According to Bivar, the boar is the animal of the Iranian deity Verethragna and as such is Mithras's companion, not his victim. Although it is impossible to establish with certainty whether the arrow was added to the painting, I find it extremely unlikely that Cumont would have missed the fact that the boar was not hit by an arrow. Such an exceptional and elevated status would, after all, point to Iranian influences, something Cumont was very keen to establish himself.

12 Cumont (1975:187) thinks this animal is wild. According to Rostovtzeff (1934:190; 1939:214) and Campbell (1968:195), both the small and adult lions are helpers. In view of its counterpart on the other wall, I tend to agree with the latter scholars. Since the hind part of the animal with possible arrow is lost, however, this idea is bound to remain hypothetical.

13 In the lemma "Mithras" in *LIMC,* Rainer Vollkommer (1992) lists representations of the horseman Mithras (nos. 307–320) and the horseman Mithras hunting animals (328–332). With the exception of a relief from Neuenheim (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1289), the first category consists of coins from Trapezunt. On these, see also Ehling (2001). The closest parallels to the Dura-Europos paintings, in which Mithras rides a horse, holds a weapon, and is hunting animals, are reliefs from Dieburg (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1247A), Rückingen (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1137), and Osterburken (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1292).

14 The hunt is associated with the meal on the reliefs from Osterburken, Rückingen (cf. above note 13), and Heddernheim (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1083). In Dura-Europos, the banquet of Mithras and Sol figures as one of the small scenes around the niche. The event was pictured in the middle mithraeum as well. There is, however, no clear connection between the banquet and the hunt in Dura-Europos.

15 A number of reliefs in which one event from the narrative is represented twice, normally found on either side of Mithras who is killing the bull, could be cited in support of this

hypothesis. It is noteworthy that these are events chosen from the 10 most popular scenes in the narratives surrounding Mithras: the water miracle (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1083, from Heddernheim; no. 1283, from Neuenheim; and no. 1301, from Besigheim); Mithras subjugating Sol (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1137, from Rückingen); and the *transitus* scene (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1896, from Konjic). (Cf. Dirven 2015:35.) The cyclic movement so clearly present in the two hunters is missing in these examples.

16 I thank Michal Gawlikowski and Krysztof Jakubiak for the additional information and for giving me a drawing of this painting.

17 According to Gordon (2001b:111), the two figures are protective deities. Gawlikowski (2007:353) points out their similarity to the Dioskouroi but rejects this possibility because the Dioskouroi are never represented in Persian dress. He argues that they cannot be Cautes and Cautopates either, since they are always represented with torches, and he concludes Mithras is perhaps represented twice here. However, Cautes and Cautopates are frequently represented without their torches. See Hinnels (1976) and below, note 23. Significantly, Cautopates decorates the other side of the wall inside the mithraeum proper: Gawlikowski (2007:354). On the possible equation of Cautes and Cautopates with the Dioskouroi in Syria, see page 25.

18 Admittedly, the figures in Huarte are not hunting. Since one of them holds an enchained demon, some sort of hunt perhaps preceded this scene.

19 The best-known examples are the two torchbearers on the end of the benches of the mithraeum of Sette Sfere in Ostia. In the mithraeum below S. Prisca in Rome, niches that contained statues of the torchbearers are in the lateral walls, next to the entrance. Cf. Bjørnebey (2007:99, notes 109 and 312).

20 This is most clear when compared to images of Cautes and Cautopates that decorate the lateral walls, such as in the mithraeum below S. Prisca. Here, Cautes stands to the right when one enters the door, his torch pointing away from the niche. See Vermaseren 1956:no. 477 and figure 129 for its location.

21 This is the case with the statue of Cautopates from Sidon (Vermaseren 1956:no. 83). The serpent is frequently present when Mithras is shown born from the rock (Clauss 2000:68). In addition, the serpent in the mysteries may have been connected with water (Clauss 2000:74).

22 Cautes is associated with a lion in a statue from Palermo, Italy (Vermaseren 1956:no. 165), and a statue from Rusicade, Numidia (Vermaseren 1956:no. 124). Porphyry (*De antr. Nymph.* 15) calls the lion grade in the Mithraic cult the initiation of fire, and Tertullian (*adv. Marcion* 1.13.4) says the lion has a dry and fiery nature. On the floor mosaic of the mithraeum of Felicissimus in Ostia, the grade's symbol is the fire shovel: Figure 3.3 (Vermaseren 1956:299). Although the association with fire applies to the grade Leo, it is likely that the animal has a similar meaning elsewhere in the cult.

23 In total, I have found nine instances in which Cautes and Cautopates flank the tauroctony while carrying a torch and bow. In most instances, they both hold a bow. The images were found spread over the empire: fresco of the mithraeum from Capua Vetere, Italy (Vermaseren 1956:no. 83); fragmentary relief from Nida, Germania (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1084); relief

from Heddernheim, Germania (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1128); relief from Potaissa, Dacia (Vermaseren 1960:nos. 1920, 1975); relief from Alba Julia, Dacia; relief from Castra Lauriacum, Noricum (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1422); circular plate from Sárkeszi, Pannonia (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1815); relief from Apulum, Dacia (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1953); relief from Sexantaprista, Moesia Inf. Here, only Cautopates has a bow (Vermaseren 1960:no. 2272). A statue of Cautes from a mithraeum in Sidon (Syria) pictures a quiver hanging from the rock (Vermaseren 1956:no. 83). On the right-hand side of the relief from Osterburken (Vermaseren 1960:no. 1292) is a small scene of Mithras with a bow riding a horse. Behind the horse walks a figure in oriental dress (perhaps one of the torchbearers) with a quiver on his shoulder. Below the horse is a lion.

24 Gordon 1976. On the mithraeum as a cosmic model, see also Beck 1994:99–117; 2000:147, 158–159.

25 According to Gordon (1976:130), the order in Dura is reversed and very unusual. This is a mistake—the order is clearly the same as in the narrative scenes (it starts at the top and runs counterclockwise, with Aries on the left and Pisces on the right) and thus tallies with the sequence in Sette Sfere and other mithraea.

26 Vermaseren 1956:no. 66; for the location of the graffito, see Vermaseren 1956:no. 34. Another example is the Capua mithraeum, where the famous relief of Amor and Psyche is placed midway along the northern bench (cf. Gordon 1988:57–58).

27 On the seven grades of initiation, see Clauss 2000:131–138. According to Clauss, they are priestly grades, a hypothesis that I doubt, following Gordon (1994:465–467). Above the cult niche are seven altars and seven cypresses, and on the larger cult relief are seven balls depicted beneath the bull's outstretched front leg (Dirven 1999:270).

28 Cumont 1975:186–192. He is followed by Alföldi 1952; Campbell 1968:176; and Bivar 1995. The latter attributes an esoteric meaning to the scene that is in my opinion highly unlikely.

29 The hunt, of course, is intimately connected with the Iranian aristocracy. I am not convinced that the motif is introduced as a reference to this famous Iranian pastime, however. The soldiers of Dura-Europos were, after all, at war with the Sassanians at the time these paintings were made. On the absence of Palmyrene names in graffiti from the final phase, see Francis (1975:431–437), who follows Rostovtzeff (1939:86, 122), who states that the community of the middle and late mithraeum was basically Roman, not Palmyrene.

30 Julian, 150 C-D = Bidez 1963:2, 128. For an extensive discussion of this section, see Drijvers 1980:146–174.

31 The painting from Huarte that pictures the two riders with their vertical spears is very similar to representations of the Dioskouroi attested in the region: Gury 1986:622, no. 108.

32 According to Sextus Empiricus IX, 37, the headdresses of the two Castores symbolize the hemispheres associated with Castor and Pollux. This accords very well with the symbolism in the mosaic from S. Felicissimus, where the two hats probably correspond to Cautes and Cautopates. On the relationship between the Castores and the hemispheres, see Cumont 1942:64–70.

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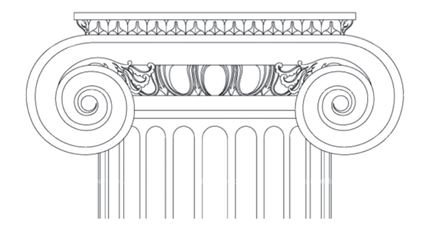
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CHAPTER FOUR



Revisiting the "Temple of Bêl" at Dura-Europos: A Note on the Fragmentary Fresco from the Naos

Ted Kaizer

In 1898, on their way back from Persia, the German scholars Friedrich Sarre and Bruno Schulz were among the very first European visitors to the site of Salihiyah on the Middle Euphrates, nearly a quarter century after its ruins had first been recorded for the Western world. Their compatriot Ernst Herzfeld followed in late 1910 and 1912, and Sarre returned once again at the beginning of 1912. The fruits of these four visits to what the German team knew only as "die namenlose Stadt"[1] were described by Herzfeld in 1920 (Sarre and Herzfeld 1920:386–395). He recorded, among other things, an observation by Sarre: "der in einem Gebäude nahe der W-Ecke der Stadt, aus rustica-ähnlichen Gipsquadern errichtet, die Reste eines Fresko-Gemäldes fand: man sieht ein in fliehender Perspektive gezeichnetes Architekturstück mit einem Pfeil davor, links davon einem Baum, an dem ein gelber Bogen hängt"[2] (Sarre and Herzfeld 1920:392; cf. *Syria* 3,1922:213).

On March 30 of 1920, the same year that Sarre and Herzfeld would publish their travel report, the real and of course more famous discovery took place when British troops camped at Salihiyah discovered the fresco now known as that of Konon, showing a family engaged in a sacrificial scene alongside orientally dressed priests. The commanding officer of the soldiers, a Captain Murphy, has become a regular feature in scholarship on Dura-Europos for the letter he sent from British headquarters at nearby Abu Kemal to Lieutenant Colonel Leachman, in which he brilliantly captured the sighting of the wall paintings, with the advice to "forward this to the proper quarter." Murphy's superior forwarded the captain's letter to

Colonel Wilson, the civil commissioner, with the following suggestion: "As a result of our occupation of the old fort at Salihiyah and the digging of trenches, a certain amount of finds have been made. The paintings to which the attached refers are most interesting and should, I think, be seen by an expert. If your American archaeologist is still about, it would well repay him to come and see this."[3]

The American archaeologist to whom Leachman referred was James Henry Breasted, the founding director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who had just returned to Syria, toward the end of April, from an expedition to the Upper Tigris River. Breasted was asked by the British authorities to undertake a mission to the fortress and its paintings, which were in a war zone, so he was not given very much time for preparation. Within five days, Breasted and his team were on their way, with seven cars from the British army and civil government. Arriving at Salihiyah on May 3, the Americans had only one full day, May 4, to clear the large sacrificial scene discovered by Captain Murphy's troops and to find other murals in the same room and in one adjacent, most famously the celebrated fresco of the sacrifice by the military tribune Julius Terentius and his auxiliary unit of Palmyrene soldiers. (On the Terentius fresco, see, most recently, Dirven 2007; Heyn 2011; Kaizer 2006). It was the inscription accompanying this painting that led Breasted to identify the fortress as that of Dura.

On the west wall of the room that had revealed the Konon fresco (the back wall opposite the entrance, forming part of the city wall), Breasted also brought to light the remains of a painting that seems to show the legs of two human worshippers and of a deity (Breasted 1924:88–89, plate XX.1 (and cf. plate VI.2); Cumont 1926:74–76, plates XLII.2–XLIII (and cf. plate.XXVII.1) (Plate 4.1). Although the scene, set outdoors, with a rocky landscape, is heavily damaged, it is clear that two figures are standing toward the left, dressed in indigenous clothing and next to an altar. One of them seems to hold a rectangular shield, possibly with a Nike figure holding a crown (Breasted 1924:89; Cumont 1926:74). A giant foot and the bottom part of a leg are all that remain of another figure, wearing so-called Parthian trousers. Because of his size compared to the other figures, it is generally assumed that this must be a god and that the other two must be mere mortals. On the other side of the giant foot are what seem to be the back legs of a horse, depicted again on a much smaller scale. Breasted (1924:89) reported, "Below, at the extreme right, in a part not included in the photograph, are traces of a wheel, perhaps belonging to a chariot." Unfortunately, there are no photographs of this fragment available, and it seems to have disappeared completely by the time later excavators arrived on the scene.[4]

Breasted showed his photos from the frescoes in Salihiyah to Belgian scholar Franz Cumont during the latter's visit to the United States in 1921, and Cumont—who immediately grasped their significance—arranged for the American to present his finds before the prestigious Académie

des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris in July 1922. Breasted's report, translated by Cumont and published in the new French journal *Syria*, aroused such enthusiasm that the Académie decided to organize a proper mission to Salihiyah, whose region had by then become part of the French mandate of Syria and the Lebanon. When Breasted declined the invitation, the Académie turned to Cumont, who conducted two brief campaigns at the Euphrates settlement in 1922 and 1923.[5] He continued to work in the building with the frescoes discovered by Captain Murphy and studied by Breasted, and he labeled it, based on both the Terentius scene and another fresco, and also on newly discovered graffiti, the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods (Cumont 1926:29–40). By then, Bedouins had long since damaged the Konon painting by scratching the faces from the figures.[6] Cumont also excavated elsewhere on the plateau, was the first to realize that it had not been simply a fortress but a genuine city, and found its Greek name, Europos, in a parchment, so that both parts of the appellation as given by Isidorus of Charax, in his *Parthian Stations* (1), could now be confirmed.[7]

The sanctuary was further excavated and explored by Yale University and the Académie in a couple of seasons of joint campaigns, during which Cumont continued as a scientific codirector but in which the real instigator was the Russian Yale professor Michael Rostovtzeff (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:11–12; Baur et al. 1933:16–19).[8] It was Rostovtzeff who designated the temple as that of Bêl, based on the damaged fresco of the gigantic figure wearing Parthian trousers, although he also referred to it as the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.[9] Although both names have stayed in use, it is the tag "of Bêl" that has proved most popular among scholars over the years, as well as in publications of the Franco-Syrian Mission, which has worked at Salihiyah since the 1980s. (See Figures 12.1–12.3, this volume.)[10]

In the late 1990s, the two main names under which the sanctuary had become known in scholarship came under the scrutiny of two scholars who both emphasized, independently of each other, that the epigraphy from the temple would rather suggest the label "of Zeus."[11] According to Fergus Millar, the temple "provides the most extraordinary example of the confusions about identification which mark the reports of the excavations," adding that while "neither of the two successive conventional names . . . has any support in the evidence," "there is as good evidence here as anywhere else for the identification of its god, namely that it was Zeus" (Millar 1998:482). Lucinda Dirven argued along the same lines, stating, "In view of the evidence, the Parthian temple is best called 'temple of Zeus,'" although she added—making a distinction between the Parthian and the Roman periods—that for the latter phase, "Cumont's designation 'temple of the Palmyrene gods' is to be preferred over the denomination 'temple of Bêl'" (Dirven 1999:294–295).[12]

But if it is true that the inscriptions from the sanctuary show a clear preponderance of Zeus among the divine names attested (at least for the Parthian period), it must also be acknowledged that

an uncontroversial dedicatory inscription of the temple complex as a whole is still lacking. The epigraphic evidence concerns dedications to Zeus either of altars or of a particular substructure within the building: a dedication of an altar to Zeus Soter from 50–51 C.E. (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:91–93, no. H4); an inscription from 115 C.E. recording how a benefactor had built "this house and the upper chamber because of his piety to Zeus" (Cumont 1926:355, no. 1); and an altar set up by the polis in 160 C.E. in honor of Zeus Megistos, to commemorate "when the earthquake occurred throughout the region" (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:86–90, no. H2). From the Roman period comes an altar set up by a soldier of Legio IV Scythica to "the ancestral god Zeus Betylos, of those by the Orontes" (Baur et al. 1933:68–71, no. 168). Finally, among the temple's graffiti was a mention of Zeus Kallinikos (Cumont 1926:40). Since other divine names, or other divine imagery, also appear within the sacred complex, it might be safest to refer to it simply as the temple situated in, or just north of, Block J3-5—or, according to the most recent map of the Franco-Syrian mission, in J9 (cf. Luciani and Boschiero 2010:19, illustration 13).

Although I have been skeptical in the past about the designation of the temple as that "of Bêl" (Kaizer 2006:151, note 1) and although I certainly do not want to close my eyes for what Susan Downey herself has recently called "the dangers of adventurous reconstruction" (Downey 2016), in what follows, I suggest that grouping together the recorded fresco fragments might advance our understanding of the painting on the back wall of the naos, now lost, and hence throw light on the identification of the sanctuary. So let us enumerate briefly the items I propose to put together: firstly, the large fragment found by Breasted (but published properly only by Cumont) that shows the enormous leg and feet of a divine figure with the remains of a horse's legs, an altar, and two attendants (Plate 4.1); secondly, a fragment of a chariot wheel (recorded by Breasted but never published) that belonged to the first one; and thirdly, a fragment (recorded by the German team) of a bow and arrow with a tree and an architectural frame. Whereas Cumont wanted to link the latter with the scene of the sacrifice by Konon and his family,[13] the fact that the yellow bow on Sarre's fragment is hanging from a tree seems to fit better with the outdoor landscape invoked by the rocks on the published fragment.

The colorized image of the fragment published by Cumont[14] was described by him as a "scène mythologique" (Cumont 1926:74) (Plate 4.1).[15] The two attendants on the left, because of their size in relation to the gigantic figure, could well be worshippers, although according to Cumont they are "manifestement des militaires."[16] Based on similarities with the central figure in the row of five deities on the so-called Otes Fresco, the enormous leg would then belong to "le dieu suprême, qu'on appelle Bêl ou Baalshamīn,"[17] although it is clear from finds made later, by the joint mission of Yale and the Académie, that Baal-Shamin is depicted differently at Dura-Europos (Downey 1977:208–210; Rostovtzeff et al.

1939:292–302, plate XXXVII). By combining the fragments of the huge figure in Parthian trousers and the horse[18] with the chariot wheel and the bow and arrow, the identification of the deity as Bêl can perhaps be argued more convincingly.

A similar combination of requisites can be seen with the figure on the far left of the famous "battle relief" from the Temple of Bêl at Palmyra (Figure 4.1). On this large sculpture on one of the beams of the temple's peristyle, a host of typically Palmyrene deities (including the nude Heracles figure) is lined up toward the right of the main part of the scene, where a creature with multiple snakes instead of legs is attacked from both sides: to the viewer's right (the monster's left) is a horse rider; to the left, on a part of the relief that is no longer visible, is an image that Henri Seyrig, in the temple's publication, described as follows: "De la gauche s'élance un char, apparemment attelé d'un seul cheval, et monté par un seul personnage. Celui-ci a presque complètement disparu, mais on voit encore son arc, pointé vers l'anguipède. Deux flèches ont déjà été tirées: l'une est fichée entre les seins du monstre, et l'autre, figurée en plein vol, s'apprête à lui percer la gorge."[19] Seyrig did not attempt to name the two divine assailants of the monster, although he thought the scene recalled some elements from the ancient Near Eastern clash between Marduk-Bêl and Tiamat.

More recently, Lucinda Dirven put forward the hypothesis that the central horse-riding figure on the relief is Nabu



Figure 4.1. Relief with a divine battle scene on a beam from the Temple of Bêl at Palmyra. (Photo by Ted Kaizer)

(or Nebu in Palmyra) and that it is he who played the central role in the myth behind the image, based on the god's rise to a status equal to that of Marduk-Bêl by the late Babylonian period, as reflected in the ancient Mesopotamian text *The Exaltation of Nabu* (Dirven 1997:96–116; 1999:147–156). According to her interpretation, the six deities standing in a row toward the viewer's right were all connected to Nebu's temple at Palmyra, whereas the chariot driver, whose bow has aimed two arrows already at the monster, is Bêl. Indeed, in Enuma Elish, the famous ancient Mesopotamian creation myth, both bow and arrow and chariot form part of Marduk-Bêl's equipment.[20] It would go too far to speculate further and conjecture from this the celebration of a form of the Akitu Festival at Dura-Europos, although some scholars have emphasized the persistence, or at least the presence, of ancient Near Eastern elements in the town's society (Dalley 1998:49–51; with regard to Palmyra, see the discussion in Kaizer 2002:203–211). However, even if my hypothesis to link the attributes of the gigantic figure on the fresco from Dura-Europos (if indeed the bow and arrow belong to this same scene, as I have suggested) with the depiction of the chariot driver on the relief from Palmyra has any value, and even if one could then argue that the mural's main protagonist was therefore undeniably Bêl (which can of course never be proven), it is essential that the wall painting is not interpreted as being Palmyrene. To be sure, some of the frescoes from the pronaos, such as the sacrifice by the tribune Julius Terentius, or from other rooms in the temple, such as the Otes fresco from Room K, are certainly to be understood in a Palmyrene context, and so are some of the graffiti inscribed on the walls of the naos.[21] But the "Palmyrene" additions were made in one of the later phases of the building's history (especially, though not only, in connection with Cohors XX Palmyrenorum being stationed at the Euphrates stronghold), and the frescoes in the naos are supposed to be older.[22] It is only likely that the fresco of the sacrifice by Konon, on the south wall of the naos, belongs to at least roughly the same phase as the painting on its back wall, a scene that is now lost forever but that was clearly, due to its location, the focal point of worship when the sanctuary's most sacred room received its decoration. But the priesthood conducting the sacrifice on behalf of Konon's family has nothing to do with Palmyra. As has often been noted, the conical hats these priests are wearing are completely different from the cylindrical *modius* that functioned as the sacerdotal headgear at Palmyra throughout its recorded history.[23] Since it can be assumed that Konon must have been a major benefactor to the cult celebrated in the naos, the room's main scene, of which only an enormous leg and some other fragments are preserved, can be excluded as Palmyrene (even if there may have been a substantial similarity between this Durene version of the cult and its counterpart in Palmyra). If Konon had been funding a Palmyrene cult (of Bêl) instead, surely he would have arranged for Palmyrene priests to perform the actual rites—as they indeed did elsewhere in Dura-Europos.[24]

Regarding the labeling, therefore, if it was the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods, this was the case only in the later phases of its history. The inscriptions of the sanctuary, virtually all in Greek, do indeed suggest that its main divine inhabitant was called Zeus. But the cult’s iconography, whose central location in the *naos* makes it of the utmost importance, reveals without a doubt that this “Zeus” was in fact nonclassical, and it seems most likely that the deity who had apparently undergone this *interpretatio graeca* was, as has long been assumed, indeed Bêl. The temple complex, located in the northwest of the ruins of Dura-Europos, has stirred up debate since it was first investigated and will no doubt continue to do so. The disagreement among scholars about the very name under which the sanctuary ought to be known is a case in point. This minor contribution aims to bring some fragments that were never properly published and have therefore become nearly forgotten back into the discussion. I hope the honorand will accept it as a small token of my respect for her leading archaeological and art historical work on the Euphrates settlement, whose story began, long ago, with the discovery of these wall paintings.

Notes

1 “The nameless city.”

2 “Who found in a building, constructed out of plaster stones resembling rustica, near the west corner of the city the remains of a wall-painting: one sees an architectural fragment —drawn in flying perspective—with an arrow in front of it, and to the left a tree on which a yellow bow is hanging.”

3 For Murphy’s letter and Leachman’s added note, see Breasted 1924:52–53; cf. Hopkins 1979:1.

4 Cumont 1926:75: “M. Breasted a vu en outre.” (“Mr. Breasted has furthermore seen.”) Note, however, that Perkins stated, “Faint traces of a chariot wheel *are* visible beside the leg of the deity” (1973:37, italics added).

5 For Breasted’s report to the Académie, see CRAI 1922:240–241 and Breasted 1922:177–206 (followed by a “note additionelle” of Cumont at pages 206–212), which later formed the basis for his 1924 monograph. The results of Cumont’s two campaigns were published as a massive monograph alongside an “atlas” with more than 120 plates. Cf. Cumont 1926, which will be republished in the *Bibliotheca Cumontiana* as *Scripta Maiora,* Vol. XI, with a historiographical introduction and appendices (by T. Kaizer; series editor C. Bonnet). Cumont’s multitude of articles, notes, and reviews on Dura will be collected as *Scripta Minora,* Vol. VII, with a historiographical introduction (by T. Kaizer; series editor D. Praet).

6 Cf. Cumont 1926:plate XLII.1. In recent years, the fresco was restored by members of the Franco-Syrian Mission, cf. Leriche 2007:499–519. I am grateful to Pierre Leriche for providing me with a copy of this article.

7 “Δοῦρα, Νικάνορος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων ὑπο δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὔρωπος καλεῖται.” “Dura, city of Nicanor, a foundation by the Macedonians which is called Europos by the

Greeks." For an overview of and all references to the discussion on which Nicanor this is, see Cohen 2006:163. For a new and ingenious interpretation arguing that the passage in Isidorus is part of the same historiographical tradition as that in Pliny the Elder on Antiochia Arabis (*HN* 6.117), with regard to the existence of the name Nikanor of Seleucus I, along with the more common form Nikator, see Primo 2011:179–184.

8 In recent years the Franco-Syrian mission, directed by Pierre Leriche, has made further investigations in the sanctuary.

9 Cf. Rostovtzeff (1932:183) referring to it as the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods: "Whether, from its very foundation, the temple had been dedicated to this trinity, or whether in early times it was dedicated to the mighty Bêl alone, is a fact which still remains to be established." Cf. Rostovtzeff 1935:242–244: "the temple of the Palmyrene gods [which was] dedicated to Zeus; i.e., to the Oriental god whom the Greeks called Zeus. This Oriental god was certainly Bel." Cf. Rostovtzeff 1935:207: "of Bel and his two companions." Cf. Rostovtzeff 1938:44 ("of Bel"), 51 ("of Zeus-Bel" and "of Bel"), 69 ("of the Palmyrene gods"), and 73 ("of Zeus").

10 Welles 1969:63: "What Cumont called the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods but what has now been designated as the Temple of Bel." Cf. Perkins 1973:37–47 ("of Bel"). Franco-Syrian Mission: e.g., Leriche et al. 1986:10; Leriche et al. 2004:vii, map.

11 In fact, the "Zeus" label was not completely new either. As we have seen, Rostovtzeff (1935:242–243; 1938:73) had already referred to it in such terms. And it can be traced even earlier, to a letter from Breasted to Cumont written on August 21, 1923, now preserved in the Academia Belgica in Rome (archive no. 7354 XL): "I find it would be very useful to make our plan of the Zeus temple a little more complete on the north and east by the insertion of some of the data of your excavations."

12 Cf. Millar's review (2001:204–205) of this book, again making the point that the label "of Zeus" "would be the only justifiable name for it."

13 Cf. Cumont 1926:II, note 4, and especially page 43, on the upper register of the Konon fresco: "C'est probablement de ce tableau alors plus complet, que faisait partie le bout de peinture que M. Sarre aperçut en 1912 émergeant au-dessus du sol." ("It is probably of this panel—then more complete—that the tip of the painting, which Mr. Sarre noticed in 1912 when it emerged above the ground, formed part.")

14 Cumont 1926:74, note 1: "La planche XLIII a été exécutée d'après une photographie, un dessin et une description accompagnée d'une notation des nuances. . . . Mais nous n'avons réussi à prendre de cette fresque, très endommagée et mal éclairée, aucune plaque autochrome, de sorte que l'aquarelle reproduite a été une restitution moins sûre que celle des autres peintures." ("Plate XLIII has been produced from a photograph, a drawing and a description accompanied by a notation of the nuances. . . . But we have not managed to take from this very damaged and badly lighted fresco any autochrome plate, so that the reproduced aquarel is a restoration that is less secure than that of the other paintings.")

15 "Mythological scene."

16 "Clearly soldiers"; Cumont 1926:75, where he also recognized their dress as "l'uniforme de la cavalerie perse et palmyrénienne" ("the uniform of the Persian and Palmyrene cavalry").
17 "The supreme god, whom one calls Bêl or Baal-Shamin"; Cumont 1926:129, plate LV.
18 Cumont 1926:75: "un petit cheval ou peut-être un cerf" ("a small horse or perhaps a deer").
19 "From the left a chariot comes rushing forward, apparently drawn by a single horse, and mounted by a single figure. This figure has disappeared almost completely, but one can still see his bow, aimed toward the Anguiped. Two arrows have already been shot: one has struck in between the breasts of the monster, and the other, represented in full flight, is about to pierce his throat" (Seyrig et al. 1975:87–88). See page 87, with plate 44, for the preserved part of the relief. A reconstruction drawing of the whole scene can be found in the accompanying volume, Seyrig et al. 1968:90. For excellent photographs of the preserved part of the relief, see Tanabe 1986:79–81, plates 32–34.
20 Cf. Dalley 1989:251, from Tablet IV of "The Epic of Creation": "He [Marduk] fashioned a bow, designated it as his weapon, feathered the arrow, set it in the string. . . . [He] mounted the frightful, unfaceable storm-chariot." I am grateful to my colleague Johannes Haubold for reminding me of this.
21 For a graffito on the south wall of the naos, inscribed on the fresco of Konon and referring to the cult of the typically Palmyrene gods Yarhibol and Aglibol, see Cumont 1926:369–372, no. 12: "une sorte d'aide-mémoire du clergé" ("a kind of memorandum for the clergy"). Cf. Dirven 1999:311–313.
22 Cumont 1926:140–143.
23 Indeed, the similarities with the appearance of the priests at Hierapolis, as recorded by Lucian and depicted on sculptures and coins from that city, are striking. Cf. Lightfoot (2003:479–486) for a discussion and further references. On Palmyrene priests, cf. Kaizer 2002:234–242.
24 For example, the Palmyrene priest depicted on both of the side reliefs from the so-called Temple of the Gaddé; cf. Dirven 1999:plates III–IV; Downey 1977:14–19.

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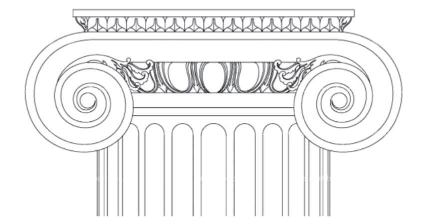
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CHAPTER FIVE



Ariadne Transformed in Pompeii's House of Fabius Rufus

Lillian B. Joyce

Ariadne is one of the most frequently represented subjects in mythological paintings in Pompeii; this essay examines how a wealthy patron innovatively transformed her story.[1] During the late republican and early imperial periods of Rome, literary and visual treatments of Ariadne became frequent, particularly explorations of her plight. Theseus was not a Roman hero, and consequently, writers such as Catullus and Ovid, as well as visual artists, may have felt greater freedom to expand upon Ariadne's character and story. The stock scenes were Ariadne's "abandonment" by Theseus and Ariadne's "discovery" by Dionysos, both set on the island of Naxos. In the environs of the fashionable Pompeian House of Fabius Rufus near the Porta Marina (Figure 5.1), Ariadne appears three times (Bragantini 1997:947–1125; Cerulli Irelli 1981:22–33). One image is a central panel painting on a sidewall of the apsidal Black Salone (Plate 5.1). It differs significantly from standard discovery scenes in that Ariadne propels herself into Dionysos's embrace. Additionally, in a debris pile immediately outside the house, archaeologists discovered two cameo glass panels pairing the discovery with an "initiation" of Ariadne into the Dionysiac mysteries (Plates 5.2 and 5.3).[2] This latter combination of scenes is unique; I suggest they are allegorical, with Romans viewing Ariadne discovered as marginalized maiden, and Ariadne initiated as fulfilled matron. The owners of these pieces chose unusual representations of Ariadne that have yet to be studied in relation to one another and to other representations in Pompeii. Both painting and panels show Ariadne as an active participant in her fate, potentially

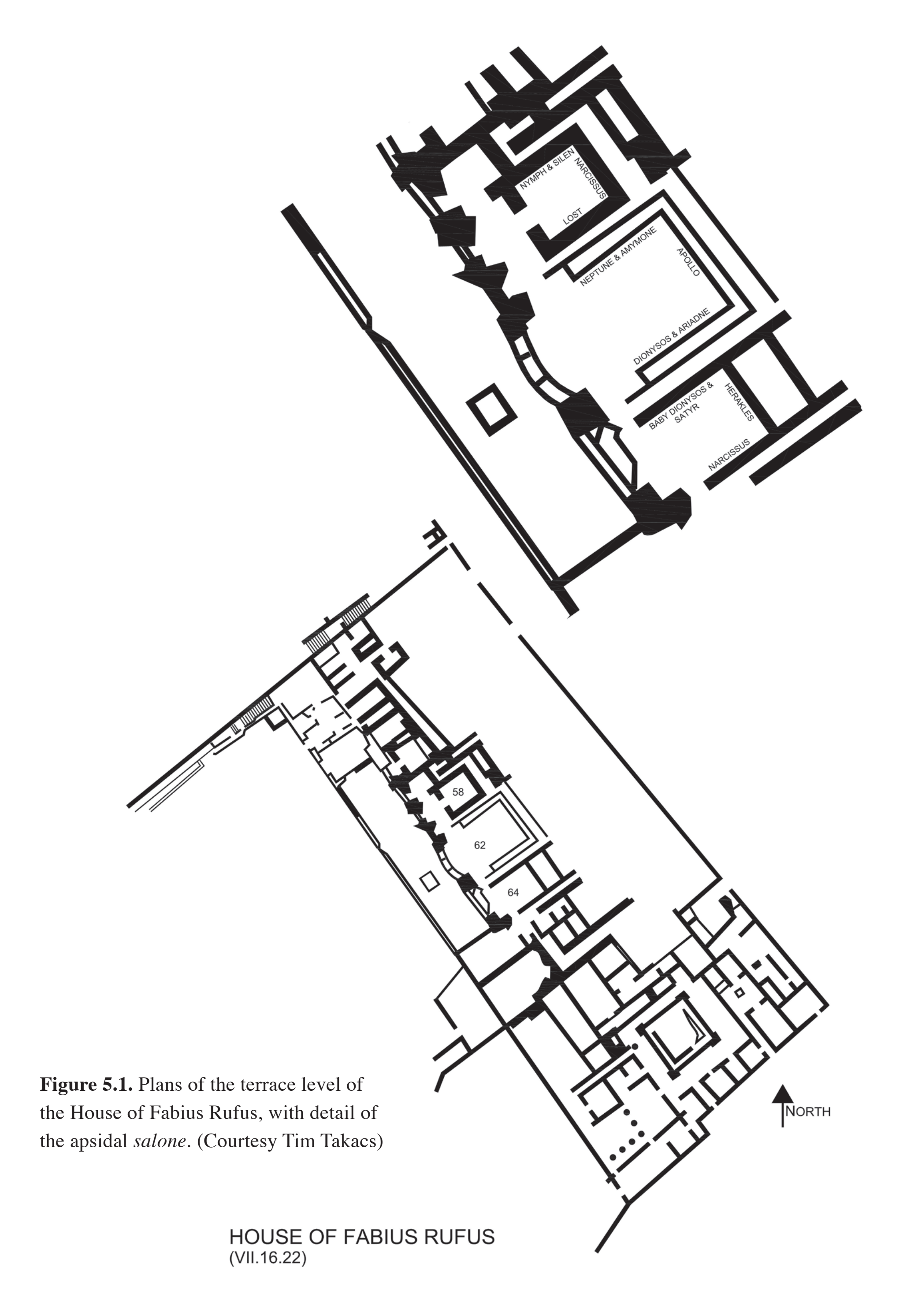


Figure 5.1. Plans of the terrace level of the House of Fabius Rufus, with detail of the apsidal *salone*. (Courtesy Tim Takacs)

illustrating elite women's opportunities to assert themselves in the path leading to marriage. However, a message not lost on male or female viewers is that even these atypical images ultimately reinforce the necessity and benefits of marriage for women.

Within the last 40 years, Ariadne has gained considerable scholarly interest. Beginning with Webster in 1966, studies have addressed representations of Ariadne in art and literature. McNally probed the sleeping Ariadne, Gallo grouped paintings of the abandonment with Ariadne awake, Parise Badoni examined Ariadne asleep, and Fredrick and Elsner discussed Ariadne and the gaze (Elsner 2007:67–112; Fredrick 1995:266–287; Gallo 1988:57–80; Parise Badoni 1990:73–89; Richardson 1979:189–195; Webster 1966:22–31). All but Webster concluded with an investigation of Ariadne in Pompeiian painting. These studies have not included the in situ Fabius Rufus painting, which is in a house that remains closed to the public and which has received extremely limited scholarly attention. Publications concerning the glass panels, now in Naples, have focused on style, workshops, and production techniques (Harden 1987:70–73). Only Fredrick addressed the role of gender in wall paintings of Ariadne, but his analysis applying methods from film theory, while insightful, is limited to scenes in which Ariadne is passive object of the gaze.

Ariadne in Greek Art and Literature

The earliest Greek writers, Homer (*Odyssey* xi, 321) and Hesiod (*Theogony* 947), told the story of Ariadne. However, even these accounts differ; in Homer Dionysos condemns Ariadne and Artemis kills her, while in Hesiod she becomes the bride of Dionysos. Archaic vases included scenes of Ariadne, but Ariadne as sleeper and Ariadne as initiate were not among them.[3] Nor was Ariadne particularly common in fourth-century or Hellenistic art. McNally noted that, of the rare Ariadne scenes, the marriage episode appeared most often (McNally 1985:163–165). Romans nonetheless looked to a well-established, Greek artistic model for their seminude Ariadne—that of maenads, the female followers of Dionysos.

On archaic and classical Greek vases, the only female figures that artists typically disrobed, fully or partially, were prostitutes, Amazons, nymphs, and maenads (Cohen 1997:66–92). In vase painting, the maenads' human appearance did not distance them from actual women the way the bestial features of satyrs, Dionysos's male companions, dissociated them from actual men (Brommer 1937, 1959; Lissarrague 1993:207–220). No reason to create a female satyr existed, as the uncivilized behaviors of maenads aligned with male perceptions of women. The maenad provided the ideal visual model for Ariadne discovered because she had a long visual tradition of being "discovered" by satyrs.

The sleeping maenad in particular, which appeared in art well before the sleeping Ariadne, became a visual prototype. For example, a vase now in Boston (MFA 01.8072) shows a sleeping maenad with arm arched over her head, the stock gesture indicating sleep and perhaps sexual vulnerability (Figure 5.2). Satyrs

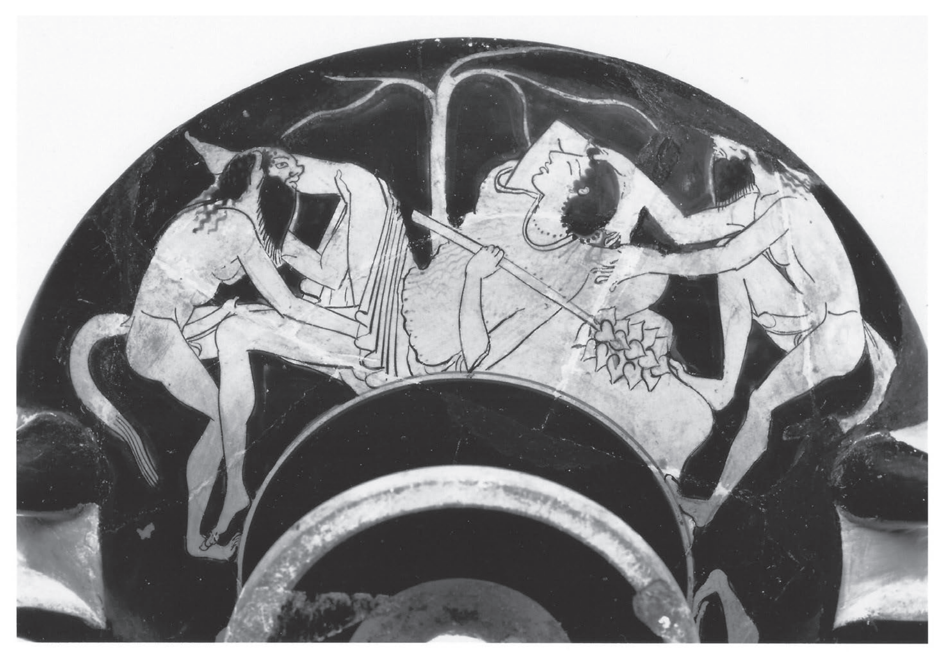


Figure 5.2. Drinking cup (*kylix*): sleeping maenad. Greek, late archaic period; about 490 B.C.E. Painter: Makron. Height 8.9 cm; diameter 21.8 cm. (Henry Lillie Pierce Fund, 01.8072. Photograph © 2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

molest the maenad by tugging at her garments, much as the satyrs of later Roman wall painting reveal Ariadne to Dionysos. While Ariadne's story may have had its origins in ancient religion, politics, and epic, later Roman-period artists asserted Ariadne's sexuality and vulnerability by associating her with the maenad.

Further evidence of this trend to associate Ariadne and maenads is the Hellenistic-period sculpture of the sleeping Ariadne that exists only in Roman copies, including the well-known over-life-sized Vatican sculpture and statuettes, such as that in San Antonio.[4] While this sculpture and her sisters (Figure 5.3) serve as reflections of a lost Hellenistic model, they are nonetheless pieces that demonstrate Roman tastes. At first glance, the identification as Ariadne is tenuous; the recumbent figure could be a sleeping maenad (McNally 1985:172; Ridgway 1990:330–332). The identification as Ariadne comes from the veiling of her head, an indication that she was a bride. But if this is a discovery scene, Ariadne has yet to become the bride of Dionysos. In discussing this sculpture, McNally noted no later images in which Ariadne appeared "fully clothed in sleep" (McNally 1985:172). However, this Ariadne reveals her breast. Thus the Vatican sculpture follows the tradition of Ariadne/maenad seemingly unaware of her exposure, and this is what we will see in most Roman wall painting of the subject. Ariadne appears vulnerable.



Figure 5.3. Sleeping Ariadne. Roman, second century. Marble. Height 46.2 cm; width 86.7 cm; depth 31.3 cm (18 3/16 x 34 1/8 x 12 5/16 in.). (San Antonio Museum of Art; gift of Gilbert M. Denman Jr.; 86.134.149. Photography by Peggy Tenison. Courtesy San Antonio Museum of Art)

Roman Accounts of Ariadne's Plight

Before assessing the visual evidence of the Roman period, it is important to address the Roman handling of Ariadne in literature to look for discrepancies with what we find in art. The two lengthiest extant texts are Catullus 64, written before the middle of the first century B.C.E., and Ovid's *Heroides* 10 from the late first century B.C.E. Since Theseus was not a Roman champion, it is not surprising that these poetic treatments of the story show more interest in Ariadne's plight than in his.

Embedded within Catullus's lengthy poem about the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is the story of Theseus and Ariadne (64.55–68) and the subsequent union of the abandoned Ariadne with Dionysos.[5] As Ariadne watched Theseus sail away, Catullus explained that,

> in her heart an unrestrainable fury arises . . . [t]he weeping daughter of Minos stands still in the seaweed, stands watching him in the distance: a Maenad in marble, rocked by the waves of her anguish, she stands there and watches; the golden hair is no longer tied up in its headband, the delicate veil no longer covers her torso, her tender white breasts are no longer bound up in their halter; all of her garments have slipped to her feet in confusion [Konstan 1977:59; translation by Konstan].

The poet's imagery perpetuated Greek maenadic models: heightened emotion, loosed hair, erotically disposed body, and, finally, the inability to reason through distress.[6] Undoubtedly, this portrait of Ariadne as a maenad also foreshadowed her role as consort of Dionysos (Armstrong 2006:95). However, Ariadne takes action and curses Theseus, which will play out upon his return to Athens. Ovid, in *Heroides* 10, also pays attention to Ariadne's awakening, describing her anger and frustration.[7] Ariadne addresses Theseus in her own words at the opening of the poem (lines 2 to 6): "The words you are now reading, Theseus, I send you from that shore from which the sails bore off your ship without me, the shore on which my slumber and you, so wretchedly betrayed me." She continues, "What could my eyes do but weep at myself, once they had ceased to see your sails? Either I wandered alone, with disheveled hair, like a Maenad shaken by the Theban god: or I sat on the cold rock gazing at the sea." Once again the poet employs maenadic imagery. Despite Ariadne's anger at his betrayal, this poem ends with her still wishing that Theseus would return. But throughout, Ariadne displays a powerful range of emotions; she is not passive.

In Roman art, Ariadne became particularly popular in wall painting, but the visual images focus on the moment of abandonment or discovery. They do not explore what happens in between. For example, the Casa dei Vettii (VI, 15, 1) contains one scene of the abandonment and one of the discovery. Small Cubiculum D has a panel with Ariadne abandoned.[8] Ariadne, although wearing a bandeau, is largely nude above her knees. The garment functions to entice the viewer rather than obscure her figure (Jacobelli 1995:44). In the Ixion Room (Clarke 1991:208–235), Dionysos comes upon the sleeping Ariadne as Theseus's ship sails into the distance. Ariadne displays her back to the viewer, sleeping with both arms above her head. Her buttocks and torso are bare. A satyr boy pulls aside the fabric and beckons Dionysos to gaze upon her. To the right of this image, over the door communicating with the north ala, is yet another reclining, seminude figure. A Hermaphrodite turns the front of its nude torso toward the viewer. Its arm arches behind its head, drawing a veil. The figure uses a tympanon, a maenadic attribute, to prop itself up. To its right a satyr tugs on the drapery. Ariadne and the Hermaphrodite provide rear and frontal views of a recumbent, seminude figure being disrobed (Wirth 1983:449–455). The reclining Hermaphrodite is secondary but clearly relates to the discovery scene. Ariadne, maenads, and Hermaphrodites were often objects of satyrs' erotic advances.

The similarity of the scenes demonstrates the fluidity of the imagery. The House of the Vettii is a well-appointed house, commonly thought to belong to freedmen (Clarke 1991:208). The abandonment scene is off the atrium, the most accessible area of the house, while the dual discovery images are in a lavish dining room off the peristyle (Wallace-Hadrill 1994:143–174). The appreciation

of Greek myth, titillating seminudity, and Dionysian indulgence appear to be appropriate in both settings. As successful freedmen, the Vettii provide insight into the visual preferences of wealthy but nonelite patrons. The ways in which these scenes are rendered match up with numerous other images in Pompeii, showing a degree of conformity. Ariadne is indeed the passive object of the gaze.

The House of Fabius Rufus

The Paintings

Similarly, multiple images of Ariadne were displayed in the environs of the terrace house of Fabius Rufus.[9] Assessment of the architectural remains demonstrates that it was a grand three-story house, with sizable windows at the back overlooking a terrace with a view of the Bay of Naples. The Black Salone is the centerpiece of a suite of three rooms (north to south: 58, 62, 64), elegantly decorated in the pinacotheca style, two on black backgrounds (58, 62), one on red and black (64). Wallace-Hadrill (1994:55–57) observed that such suites of rooms proclaimed a deliberate "waste of space," signifying that the owner could choose among rooms in which to entertain. The exclusive nature of these rooms is indicated by their relative inaccessibility; they could be reached only from the street level by two narrow, internal staircases. A corridor along the bay side of the house connects the rooms, providing views out the windows, much like those of a seaside villa (Zanker 1998:74). Its central position and panoramic views would have made the Black Salone an ideal environment for sumptuous dining.

In her investigation of the Black Salone, Leach focused on the central back wall image, showing three figures whose identities scholars debate (Leach 1991:105–112).[10] Leach identified this central scene as Apollo's marriage arrangements for his son Phaethon. As additional examples of the unions between gods and mortals, and demonstrating a program for the room, Leach pointed to the pendant scenes of Ariadne and Dionysos and Neptune and Amymone. She observed that these latter unions "may generally be categorized as rapes," while the central scene alludes to marriage (Leach 1991:105; Ling 1991:135–139; Richlin 1992:158–179).[11] However, the encounter of Dionysos and Ariadne in the Black Salone deviates significantly from conventional discovery scenes and does not portray Dionysos raping Ariadne. Rather, the artist seems to have conflated several elements of Ariadne's story, including her marriage and perhaps the foreshadowing (or avoidance) of her death. In addition to assessment of this scene within the repertoire of Ariadne paintings in Pompeii, it also needs to be considered in relation to the other central panels, and the wall decor surrounding them.

In the Black Salone painting, the ship of Theseus is in the distance, but in the foreground Ariadne embraces Dionysos, who is seated on a chair. Ariadne's movement may be inspired as much by necessity as passion. In the background on a pedestal is a female figure with bow and arrow that Leach and Bragantini

identified as Athena (Bragantini 1997:1095; Leach 1991:111). This image, which seems to be a statue, is probably not Athena but Artemis. The bow is more often her attribute, and Artemis is a key character in Homer's *Odyssey* 11.325, where she is the agent of Ariadne's death. The text suggests that Dionysos participated in her demise. However, in the Fabius Rufus painting, Dionysos does not appear to have turned against Ariadne. We see Ariadne taking no chances with Artemis; she assesses her situation and propels herself into the arms of her husband-to-be. Indeed, Ariadne seems to discover Dionysos!

The pendant to Ariadne and Dionysos, the story of Neptune and Amymone, is not common in Pompeiian wall painting, but interestingly it has a Dionysian element. In some variations of the myth, a satyr or several satyrs attack Amymone. Moreover, in some accounts, Amymone, like Ariadne, is asleep when this assault occurs. Neptune conveniently appears, driving the predators away, and then has a sexual encounter with the girl, producing a child (Simon 1981:421).[12] In the Fabius Rufus wall painting, Eros encourages Neptune as he pulls at her drapery. As Amymone looks at Neptune, she puts a hand on his arm in seeming resistance to his advances. While both paintings are preludes to sexual encounters between gods and mortal women, the term "rape" seems overstated. Both females appear upright, active, and in control while the males sit. Ariadne's union with Dionysos is a blissful one, and Neptune's advances on Amymone rescue her from bestial predation. These paintings portray unusual representations of female figures who, while rescued by gods, assert some control over their situations. The encounters ultimately have positive outcomes: a good marriage or successful child (Lefkowitz 1993:17–37).

The traditional interpretation of the central panel is that it represents a beauty contest between Vesper and Venus with the enthroned Apollo looking on (Ling 1991:127–128;Simon 1984:421). Whether depicting a marriage or beauty contest, the central panel resonates with its companions on several levels. All three panels showcase physical beauty. The surrounding decorations celebrate the realms of Dionysos and Apollo. Above the panel of Dionysos and Ariadne is Apollo Citharode himself. Additionally, satyrs and maenads people the ancillary decoration. The worlds of Dionysos and Apollo merge and rejoice in music, poetry, and sensual pleasure.

The room (64) to the south of the Black Salone contains panel paintings and subsidiary decoration that relate to those of the focal room. The left wall features a bathing nymph startled by a lecherous silenus. The central panel has an image of Narcissus, who will be repeated in the other flanking room (58). The right wall has severe losses, and no central panel remains. Surrounding the surviving panels are images of food, garlands, and fanciful architectonic scaffolding. The scenes are very conventional.

The room (58) to the north of the Black Salone contains an image of Heracles with an unidentifiable female

figure. While Herakles examines his companion, she looks out in the direction of the viewer; no "rape" seems imminent. On the left wall, a seminude satyr displays his buttocks and teases baby Dionysos by dangling grapes. On the other side, Narcissus appears to look toward the guests and/or the rear panel of the room. Flanking the central panels are Eros figures playing with the attributes of various gods. The ceiling of this room (58) was vaulted and contained a central rondel with a figure in a biga (Apollo?). One also finds a border comprised of thyrsi and swans, attributes of Dionysos and Apollo. Thus the three panels are joined by the glances of the figures within them, and thematically they explore love, pleasure, and temptation and are surrounded by attributes of Apollo and Dionysos. Once again these are conventional scenes.

The Cameo Glass Panels

Unlike the paintings in the Black Salone, the original context of the glass panels is unknown. They were found in a debris pile with some bronze luxury items just outside the house. At one time the glass panels may have been attached to furniture or inserted in a wall.[13] The few surviving examples of cameo glass are vessels, so this format is unusual. Their size, roughly 40 x 25 cm, makes them rather large for furniture inserts. The Domus Transitoria in Rome and other luxuriously appointed houses had bits of glass inserted among frescoes, which offered a change in texture and color as well as an element to catch light (Cima 1986:105–144).[14] But one need not look as far as Rome; on the street level of the House of Fabius Rufus, one of the most elaborately decorated rooms (32) has gems set into its painted borders (Bragantini 1997:992–995). The cameo panels could have been wall or furniture inserts or even portable display pieces, like gems, that were kept in cabinets.

Dionysos's discovery of Ariadne on the glass panel follows the conventions of wall painting. At the left, Dionysos stands with his right hand arched over his head in a gesture mimicking Ariadne's. In this case, the gesture does not indicate sleep. Analyzing a pair of silver cups with the loves of Mars and Venus from the House of the Menander, Clarke observed that one of the male figures, who is quite awake, arches an arm over his head (Clarke 1998:68–70). As he performs this gesture, a nude female figure either rises up from or sits back into his lap. Here, the gesture signals an erotic encounter in progress. Thus this motif, as seen on the cameo glass panel, related to contemporary wall painting as well as to toreutic art, and it indicates that sexually suggestive scenes in these media were quite at home in houses of the wealthy.

At Dionysos's left in the glass panel, Eros flies toward Ariadne. In his right hand Eros holds a rhyton, and with his left he balances a cultic *cista* on his head, foreshadowing Ariadne's initiation into the cult. A satyr plants his left leg between Ariadne's thighs. A second Eros hovers near Ariadne, touching her raised arm to incite passion. In a hollow

under Ariadne's seat is a tympanum. Ariadne tips her head back, a gesture that artists typically used for maenads to indicate abandon. Ariadne has yet to meet Dionysos, but she appears already to have participated in a Dionysian revel. This similar combination of poses and ritual implements found in the Vettii painting and the Fabius Rufus glass panel demonstrates that artists probably used similar models. The connection makes sense formally and thematically, as Romans associated the Hermaphrodite and Ariadne with Dionysos.

The second glass panel has a rustic setting similar to the discovery scene. In the lower left corner, a *cista* has a snake pushing up the lid. A dancing silenus holds a *skyphos*. The tree supports ritual items among its branches. An Eros stands on a limb supporting a cloth marking off a sacred area. Leaning against the seat of the central female is a tympanum like the one in the discovery panel. Also near the seat is a goat, a typical Dionysian attribute. The female figure wears a matron's chiton and himation. She leans to let the woman on her right fill her wine cup. This partner dances holding a tympanum. A wine crater of similar size and shape to the one in the discovery scene sits on the rock between the two figures.

Maiuri identified the central figure as Ariadne; other scholars, primarily those of Roman glass such as Harden, Painter, and Whitehouse, concur (Harden 1987:70–73; Painter and Whitehouse 1990:155–156; Whitehouse 1991:20). Maiuri immediately compared the attributes and figures in the glass panel to the wall painting in the Villa of the Mysteries (Maiuri 1961:18–23). However, in the Villa of the Mysteries, Ariadne sits upright with Dionysos reclining against her. She is not an active participant in the ritual. Similarly, in the late republican Casa del Criptoportico, a series of Dionysian vignettes contains some of the same elements found in the glass panel, but not the initiation of Ariadne (Rostovtzeff 1927:56–93; Spinazzola 1953:437–593). The closest visual parallel for a combination of the discovery of Ariadne and an initiation scene comes from a much later sarcophagus now inserted in a wall at the Villa Medici in Rome. Matz persuasively argued that it was not one sarcophagus but a pastiche of three from different dates (Cagiano de Azevedo 1942; Matz 1969:322, 375–376; 1975:482).[15] Moreover, Cagiano de Azevedo, who considered the sections as coming from a single monument, never claimed the initiate was Ariadne. Thus it seems that the initiation of Ariadne is without visual parallels. The cameo glass panels have too many similarities to dismiss the identification of the female initiate as Ariadne. The contrast between the figure of Ariadne in the discovery and that in the initiation offers clues to her transformation.

Conclusions

Ariadne rushing into the arms of Dionysos in the Black Salone wall painting is apparently unique, and the pairing of the discovery and an initiation in the cameo panels also seems without visual parallels. However, use of such

Dionysian scenes for a well-appointed house was commonplace. Rostovtzeff observed,

> Pompeii of this time was, we may be sure, a city where the Dionysiac mysteries had a permanent home, and where everybody, certainly every member of the educated classes, was familiar with the peculiar pictorial language of these mysteries. There is almost no house in Pompeii with mural decorations of the second or third style which wholly lacks pictures representing Dionysiac rites or scattered figures or groups of the Dionysiac cycle [Rostovtzeff 1927:40].

According to Fredrick, scenes of Ariadne may make up 5 to 10 percent of all central-panel wall decoration. Such a keen interest in the circle of Dionysos and his mysteries demonstrates no long-term impact of the 186 B.C.E. senatorial suppression of the Bacchanalia.[16] No evidence that the Senate ever lifted the decree exists. Nonetheless, we see numerous representations of bacchic activity in Pompeii, often alluding to mystery rites. The Senate's decree was not as effective as intended; how could it be? The decree demanded that devotees travel to Rome for permission to meet in groups of fewer than five. How many citizens would actually follow such a mandate? But was the art found throughout Pompeii subversive? As we have seen in the cameo glass panels and countless other examples, artists fluidly blended images of myth and ritual, thus diminishing the reference to "real" rites. But myth served another purpose, which scholars have largely ignored until recently, and for which the story of Ariadne is an ideal case study.

In addressing the use of mythological scenes as central panels in Pompeiian houses, two paradigms have been suggested. Wallace-Hadrill proposed that the subjects conformed to the hierarchy in Roman literature, with heroic and tragic subjects at the top (Wallace-Hadrill 1994:75). Fredrick convincingly countered that while heroes and gods do indeed figure prominently, the context is usually not heroic but amorous (Fredrick 1995:267). The story of Ariadne falls into the latter category. However, in the Fabius Rufus image, Ariadne emerges as a more complex figure that requires reevaluation.

If one looks closely at how Roman artists typically rendered the characters in the Ariadne myth, it is not an innocent narrative displaying the Roman patron's knowledge of Greek heroic legend. In the abandonment scenes, Ariadne, not Theseus, is the dominant figure. Although Catullus and Ovid made her an active and angry protagonist, the artists usually portrayed Ariadne in a reclining position, asleep or mourning. Likewise, in most discovery scenes, both the god in the painting and the viewer in the room gazed on an erotically disposed Ariadne who slept.

Whether awake, as she is in the Black Salone painting, or sleeping, as she is in the cameo panel of the discovery, Ariadne was nude to the waist, as was the god.

However, the seminudity of Dionysos did not carry the same meaning as the seminudity of Ariadne. Long-standing conventions in Greek and Roman art held the nudity and seminudity of gods, heroes, and athletes to be an ennobling guise (Hallett 2005:92–94). Thus the artist has represented Dionysos in a manner suitable to a male deity, despite his somewhat effeminate build. Ariadne's nudity is ambiguous. On one level it is a celebration of the feminine beauty and sexuality desirable in a wife. Consider, for example, contemporary Flavian funerary sculptures showing Roman matrons in the guise of Venus (D'Ambra 1996:210–232). However, Ariadne does not celebrate and present her own beauty. Instead, in the discovery scenes, the artist has stripped Ariadne; her disrobed state is not a consensual or celebratory act on her part. Moreover, by portraying her asleep in the glass panel, the artist has cast Ariadne, as in many other Pompeian paintings, as passive and vulnerable (Zanker and Ewald 2004:163–164). Her recumbent pose and seminudity represent a loss of power.

By contrast, the Ariadne of the ritual scene is decorously clothed. Ariadne performs rites that give her access to the mysteries of Dionysos, which offer pleasure and salvation (Roller 2003:404). Ariadne initiated has transformed herself into a suitable companion for a god. She is central and asserts her control of the situation. This unique pairing of scenes in the cameo panels is allegorical. Ariadne discovered is an abandoned maiden, but Ariadne initiated is a contented wife.

The Black Salone wall painting of Ariadne does not find contemporary parallels in Pompeii. It is likely that the owners of this house, who made their fortunes from wine (Gordon 1927:CIL iv, 2556, 5521), as well as their guests, had seen many images of Ariadne, since her plight was a popular subject in wall painting. The three representations of Ariadne from this posh section of Pompeii are distinctive for their creativity. At the simplest level, Ariadne is a beautiful participant in the good life associated with Dionysos. In their choice of an exceptional scene—Ariadne propelling herself into the arms of a seated Dionysos—the wealthy owners of the House of Fabius Rufus may have sought to outdo their contemporaries. With the presence of Artemis as a statue, they seemingly tip their hat to the Homeric version of Ariadne's tale. Her story demonstrates the classical learning of the patrons. However, the glass panels and the wall painting present a twist on a well-known story. These wealthy homeowners gave their guests something more to ponder, especially with the empowerment of Ariadne. Ariadne transforms herself and seeks out a new identity; her roles have changed radically—from daughter of the king to jilted lover of a foreign hero and finally to blessed consort of a god. The Romans explored Ariadne's personal evolution, as illustrated in stock scenes and these unusual compositions, but ultimately they did not waver from the patriarchal ideology that Roman women, like Ariadne, could achieve true fulfillment only through marriage.

Notes

1 Fredrick (1995:271–273) presented a revision of Schefold's 1957 classic, *Die Wände Pompejis: Topographisches Verzeichnis der Bildmotive*. He reduced Schefold's tally of more than 1,000 mythological subjects in Pompeii to roughly 500 central panels. Thus the 43 known images of Ariadne in wall paintings account for between 5 and 10 percent of central panels. Of the subjects that occur more than five times, Ariadne accounts for 12 percent. Ling (1995:248) calculated that Ariadne was the third most popular subject in wall painting. However, Fredrick (2003:327) countered, Ling did not count scenes of Ariadne and Dionysos, which would propel Ariadne to number two.

2 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Panel A (discovery): length c. 40 cm; height c. 25 cm; width .7–1.0 cm; inv. no. 153652. Panel B (initiation): length c. 39 cm; height c. 25 cm; width .6–.7 cm; inv. no. 153651. Neither panel was listed in the Ariadne *LIMC* entry. Maiuri (1961:18–23) discovered the panels along with various sumptuous objects such as a lamp stand, table, and other bronze furniture fixtures. Although broken, the glass panels were largely complete. Evidence of ancient repairs demonstrates that the owners valued these objects. Maiuri suggested that they were furniture inlays, used like the ivory reliefs that adorned expensive beds and couches, citing Pliny (*NH* XIII, 29), who mentioned a luxurious wooden table belonging to Cicero that cost a million sesterces. However, if the glass panels were once attached to a wall, one would expect to find the remains of plaster or lime on the back. None is extant. Nonetheless, Froning (1981:30–31) associated them with the marble relief plaques that Romans inserted into walls.

3 According to Webster (1966:26) and McNally (1985:161), the earliest known scene of the sleeping Ariadne was probably by the Foundry Painter, c. 480 B.C.E, Tarquinia RC 5291; ARV2 405:CV plate 18. However, the earliest female sleepers on vases were maenads, who appeared roughly 10 years earlier (McNally 1985:156–158). McNally directed the reader to Beazley (1954:96–99) for a list of sleeping maenads.

4 Vatican Museums 548. McNally (1985:171–173) acknowledged the potential confusion of this supposed Ariadne with a sleeping maenad. See also Ridgway (1990:330–332), who noted that this figure was alone rather than part of a group with the satyr lifting her garment. She observed, "The viewer can supply both the departing Theseus and the approaching Dionysos without need for their physical presence."

5 Elsner (2007:72) argued, "The only images of the coverlet are that of Ariadne gazing out to sea and of Bacchus coming to find her (vv. 251–264)." He saw Catullus objectifying her as an object of the gaze (Elsner 2007:69), "whether this be his own gaze and ours as his readers or that of the young men of Thessaly within his narrative."

6 Konstan (1997:59) noted that Catullus might have had specific statuary in mind. See also page 59, note 140. However, Konstan suggested that the imagery anticipated Ariadne's later encounter with Bacchus. See also Propertius 1.3 on Cynthia being like Ariadne.

7 Jacobson (1974:213–227). McNally (1985:180) observed that Ovid revisited the theme of Ariadne several times: "To her, deserted and bewailing bitterly, Bacchus brought love and help" (Ovid *Met*. 8.176–177). See also *Fasti* 3.459–516 and *Ars Amatoria* 1.527–564.

8 Gallo (1988:68, catalog no. 13, figure 12). Fredrick (2003:327–338) commented that there is no significant difference between the subjects chosen for *cubicula* and *triclinia*.

9 Epigraphical evidence at several locations in the house identified the owners. See Maiuri (1961:18) and Cerulli Irelli (1981:22). See Van Buren (1963:401–402) for an illustration of the bronze table that Maiuri found with the glass panels. The house was under restoration following the great earthquake of 62 C.E. Richardson (1988:231) observed that the Casa of Fabius Rufus seems to have been broken up into multiple family dwellings in its latest phase of occupation. He also indicated (1988:355) that "huge banquet halls that hang poised on the edge of a dramatic sweep are now also a common feature in the fine houses. One finds them in the Villa dei Misteri and the Casa di Fabio Rufo." He linked the development to precedents set by seaside villas of the Julio-Claudian period. See also Zevi (1996:125–138) and Grimaldi (2014:17-35). The latter is the most recent archaeological study of the house.

10 Leach (1991:105–112). This painting in the House of Fabius Rufus is a variation on scenes found in the Casa di Apollo and a painting now in Naples. Fredrick (2003:336–337) identified the male in the foreground as Dionysos but without discussing why he did so.

11 Leach (1991:105). On rape in Roman literature, particularly Ovid, see Richlin (1992). Ling (1991:135–139) suggested that choices in decoration related to room use. However, he maintains that consistent programs that tie images together are less likely than the choice of pleasing formal relationships such as color and composition.

12 For survey of literary and visual images, see Simon (1981:742–752). Apollodorus ii, I, 4; Hyginus, *Fab*. 169; Propertius ii, 26.

13 For example, a marble plaque displaying a group of three maenads of the late republican/early imperial period, now in the Uffizi (inv. no. 1914.318), measures 97 x 58 cm and bears some traces of paint on the figures. However, other panels with similar subjects were smaller. Maiuri did not find any adhesive on the backs of the panels.

14 Palatine Antiquarium, inv. nos. 381404, 381405, and 381406.

15 Matz (1969, 1975) cataloged the fragments as no. 175, page 322, and no. 207, pages 375–376, in Volume III, with an illustration on tafel 224, 1. Catalog no. 322A is found on page 482 in Volume IV.

16 One can compare fragments of a consular letter pertaining to the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus to a lengthy account of the suppression in Book 39 of Livy's *History of Rome,* CIL 1(2) 581 and *ILLRP*, 511. See Livy 39.8–19 and for the continued efforts of the Senate to enforce the ban into 181 B.C.E., see 39.41.6–7 and 40.19.9–10. The bronze tablet found at Tiriolo in Bruttium in southern Italy indicates that the dispersal of the senatorial decree reached throughout the peninsula.

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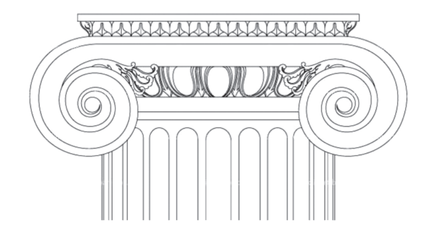
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CHAPTER SIX



The Importance of Being Venus

Eve D'Ambra

To modern viewers, one of the most peculiar manifestations of Roman taste comes in the form of statues of the goddess Venus fitted with individualized portraits of matrons. The fulsome nude bodies beckon, but the lined stern faces defy the pleasures of the flesh and repel advances (D'Ambra 1996:219–232; 2000:101–114). For scholars of earlier generations, the Venus portrait statues exemplified nothing but Roman bad taste, characterized by a combination of clashing genres in the classical statue types for the bodies and the realistic heads. More recently, scholars have come to appreciate the Roman adaptation of Hellenic forms for new purposes (Marvin 2008:218–247). The Roman market for Greek statuary renewed the genre of ideal sculpture as it reinvigorated it with new meaning. The Venus portraits (Figure 6.1) honored women with the physical beauty and grace of the goddess. It has been too easy to denigrate the statues as hybrids that merited less than the sum of their parts—that is, reduced to *real* heads and *fake* bodies. Rather, the Venus statues commemorated matrons with heads bearing portrait features and period coiffures, while the bodies rendered the perfect physical specimen of the divine.

The scholarship has been concerned with the origins of the mythological portrait and has looked to depictions of imperial women (in statuary, coins, and gemstones) as the impetus (Mikocki 1995:89–149). Livia and other Julio-Claudian women, however, seem to be associated with Venus only by motifs, attributes, and discreet disrobing in the form of drapery slipping off the shoulder (Wood 1999:119–121, figure 4, 165–170,

figure 64). It is not clear how influential the imperial women were as models to which others looked for inspiration in the selection of portraits. The Copenhagen statue (Figure 6.1), although once identified as a wife of Titus, most likely represents an anonymous private woman with no relation to the imperial court (Johansen 1995:50–53; Wrede 1981:306–307, note 292). Furthermore, other such statues and literary evidence suggest that women honored by the statues were freedwomen—that is, ex-slaves (Wrede 1971:144–146, 158; 1981:308, note 293). Freedmen and freedwomen, especially those in the service of the imperial court, were motivated to commemorate their newfound legal status and social position—even more so if they had freeborn children.[1] The imperial freedmen's prominence may have enabled them to transmit new artistic modes to the population at large.

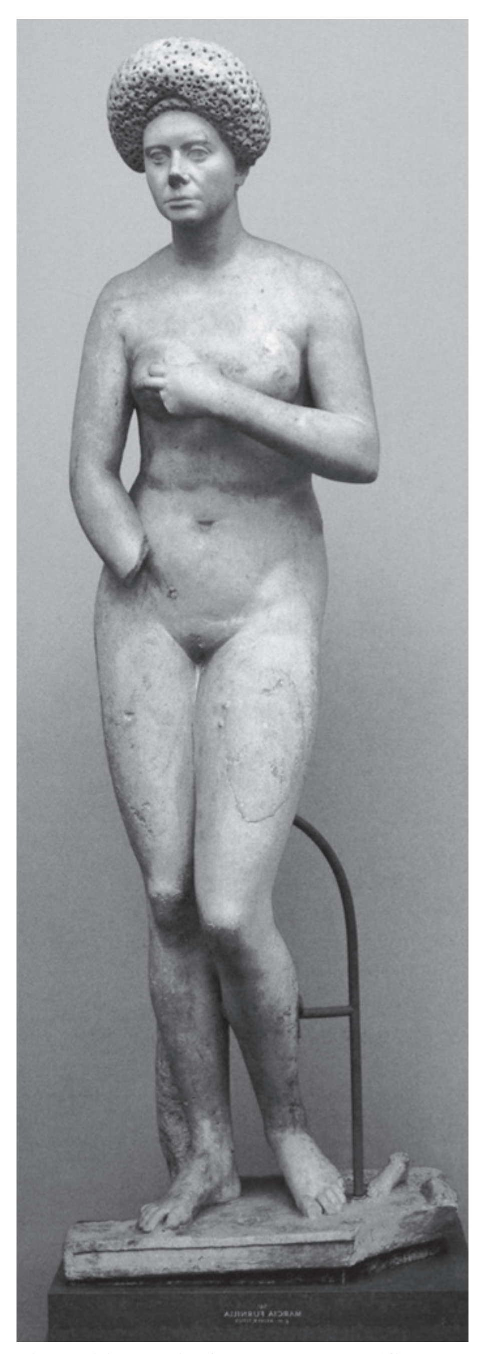


Figure 6.1. Portrait of matron as Venus. (Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, no. 711)

It is puzzling that full-frontal nudity appears on statues of anonymous women, some of whom seem to have been freedwomen. The extant statues of clearly identifiable imperial women do not represent nude bodies. Do we attribute the development of the nude Venus portrait to freedmen and freedwomen? Freedmen are often characterized as laggards, not leaders, in cultural affairs, due to their marginal status (except for imperial freedmen with proximity to power) (Petronius, *Trimalchio* 29–79). Crediting them with the creation of this new portrait genre would amount to a jab at the freedmen's alleged lack of subtlety or sophistication according to the received opinion of traditional scholarship. In this

matter, previous generations of scholars took their cue from the snobbery of the literary sources.[2] Or is the question unanswerable due to the incomplete archaeological record? In other words, we presume that there may be a missing link, a statue of an unclothed emperor's wife as Venus that has not yet been found or that was reconfigured (the striking head removed) to make a charming garden statue in later periods.[3]

The line of investigation can be extended by analysis of evidence that has long surfaced in the catalogs of Roman portraiture but has not received much consideration. Literary evidence in the form of an epigram of Martial (6.13) describes a statue of the daughter of the emperor Titus, Julia Titi, in the form of Venus. This in itself is exceptional given the rare testimony on works of art in antiquity. Martial's epigram provides criteria for appreciation of the Venus statues as it sets out standards of comparison between the beauty of the mortal Julia Titi and that of the immortal goddess. Furthermore, the poem complements the archaeological record, which provides one fragmented portrait statue of Julia Titi as Venus, which is also documented with a replica portrait head. The portrait statue, extant only in its head and upper torso, may indicate that a seminude or even nude depiction of an imperial woman was acceptable. Although the reconstruction of the statue's body may change the state of the corpus of imperial portraits, it is the head that is exceptional. The likeness of the subject and the adornment provided by the coiffure stand out from the other Venus portraits. A discussion of the literary and archaeological evidence suggests both the dominance of tradition and a willingness to cast if off, to mix together and sample different motifs of the genre of the mythological portrait.

Martial, Epigram 6.13

"Who would not think, Julia, that you were shaped by the chisel of Phidias? Or that you were not the work of Pallas' skill? The white Lygdian [*sic*] marble answers me with its speaking likeness, and a live beauty glows in the placid face. Her hand with no rough touch plays with the Acidalian girdle which it has snatched, small Cupid, from your neck. To win back the love of Mars and of the imperial Thunderer from you, let Juno ask for your cestos, and Venus herself, too" (Martial, *Epigrams* 6.13, trans. W. Ker).

The poem thus praises the beauty of Julia Titi by describing her in the form of a statue of Venus accompanied by an Eros or Cupid (as in Figure 6.1, in which the feet of an Eros are visible but in which the little figure is not extant) (Johansen 1995:50). Such praise in itself is conventional, although the rhetoric has some bearing on matters of artistic taste and appreciation that emerge as figures of thought in poetry. There is no need to assume that Martial is referring to a specific statue, since a representation of an imperial woman in the guise of Venus formed part of the traditional repertory of statue types (Mikocki 1995:112–115). The date of the publication of the sixth book of Martial's *Epigrams* in the latter half of 90 provides a chronology, along with the date of Julia Titi's death at the end of

89 (Grewing 1997:136–145). Although several historical sources recount that Julia was a mistress of her uncle, Emperor Domitian, near the end of her life (brought about by a forced abortion), she would not have been celebrated by Martial as a rival to Juno and Venus had she been part of a scandal in the imperial court (Jones 1992:38–40; Vinson 1989:431–450). The tales of Domitian's marital infidelity, immorality, and cruelty belong to the invective directed toward emperors who took the Senate firmly in hand and curtailed their traditional prerogatives.

The epigram begins by extolling the quality of the sculpture, which merits comparison with the work of the acclaimed master Pheidias and of Pallas Athena herself (Grewing 1997:139–140). The workmanship, or *techne,* is to be noted: a mere tool, Pheidias's chisel (*caelum*), makes an appearance in the opening of the poem. The standards for evaluation thus bear the weight of tradition in references to the golden age of Athens, to which the craftsmanship of the anonymous Flavian stoneworker is so favorably compared. Excellence is also attributed to the quality of the marble, which is of the preferred type, Parian (Grewing 1997:140; Lygdian marble is also known as Parian). The pedigree of the artistry thus spans the heavens and earth, from the talents of immortals and men to mere minerals. Pheidias, Pallas Athena, and Parian marble appeal to connoisseurs who appreciate beauty of the highest and most rarefied kind.

The epigram also begins with a question addressed to the statue. It continues by juxtaposing the marble with the speaking likeness and live beauty of the statue ("non tacita . . . imagine" and "vivus décor" shining in its face). Addressing the subject and attributing an inner life to statues are conventions of the genre of *ekphrasis*. Martial, however, plays on both the subject's presence and absence in these brief lines, and the ability of the cold, inert stone to offer an illusion of animation is summoned not only by the statue's implied responsiveness but by its actions. The statue plays gently with the cestus, the band usually worn around the goddess's breasts, which Julia has snatched from the Eros accompanying her.

The statue's gesture with the cestus is curious: is Julia toying with the object that leads to enchantment and seduction because she doesn't need its powers of attraction (Seaman 2004:563–566, leather band around breasts)? Or is she bandying it about as means of coy flirtation? Furthermore, Julia's stature grows in the epigram's last lines, which elevate her over Juno and Venus: not only does Julia possess Venus's cestus, but the goddesses are beholden to Julia in this poetic conceit. The emperor's niece is depicted in the goddesses' image, but she outstrips them in beauty and its attendant powers (Alexandridis 2004:86). In death, transformed into a marble statue, Julia Titi becomes larger than life and, perhaps, more beautiful.

The poet does not describe the statue's form or features beyond the attribute of the cestus. He assumes that the reader knows what it looks like; the classical canon is evoked by the dropping of illustrious names in the first few lines. The statue

attracts the poet because of its likeness to Julia Titi: the verisimilitude is so authentic that it speaks; it is expressive. We assume that the statue bears the portrait features of Titus's daughter and Domitian's niece, and a body of a Venus statue type. If Martial did not have a particular statue in mind (and we need not think of him as describing a specific sculpture), he could summon a familiar image to his audience: that of a female relative of the emperor in the guise of Venus. The cestus suggests that the statue is partially or complete nude, although it is not necessary.

Beauty is envisioned through a severely abridged roll call of Hellenic achievements in the visual arts (Vout 2006:96–123). The statue is also reduced to a few parts, with mentions of only the face and hand (the female body evoked in fragments). Here Martial is following a formula in which the work of art is identified through traditions of workmanship, its material, and then the ability of the work to transcend its nature as inert matter and come alive. The poem mirrors the approach in its structure. It begins with a question addressed to the subject, Julia Titi, and ends with a request that the goddesses should make to her to restore their divine powers. The subject of the statue is thus ennobled and aggrandized by the poem's rhetoric. The living beauty of the marble is rather overdetermined by the artistic traditions of the past.

The Copenhagen Fragment

The Copenhagen portrait was originally inserted into a statue (Figure 6.2) (Alexandridis 2004:173, no. 147, tafel 31.3; Johansen 1995:44–45). The fragment depicts Julia Titi with the attributes of Venus through the hairstyle and a section of nude shoulder and chest.[4] The wedge-shaped section of the extant chest unfortunately does not clearly indicate if the entire figure was nude or seminude. (There may have been some carved drapery on the edge that was visible in the past.)[5] The figure may have worn a tunic slipping from the shoulder, as in the statue type of Venus Genetrix. One scholar suggests that a nude statue type was possible (but more likely it was partially draped) in order to establish a model for

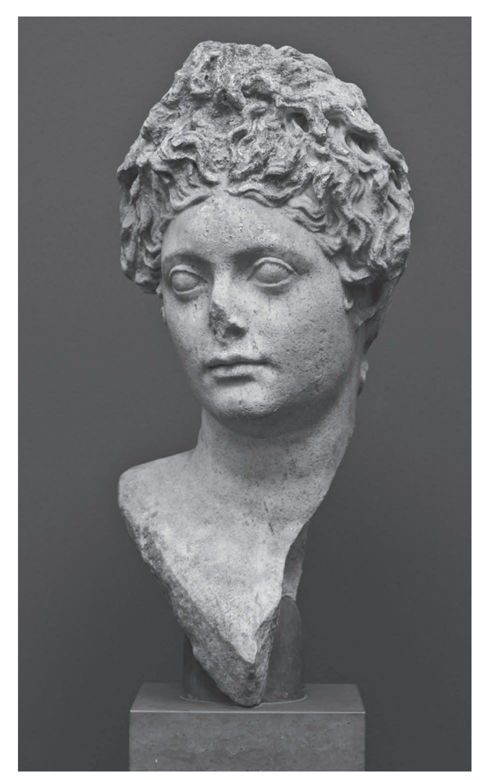


Figure 6.2. Fragmented portrait statue of Julia Titi as Venus. (Courtesy Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, no. 793)

unclothed statues of anonymous women of the lower social orders (Figure 6.1) (Alexandridis 2010:217). Yet it is difficult to know whether the rest of the torso was undraped. The statue's date, late in Domitian's reign to after 89, accords with the publication of Martial's sixth book of epigrams in 90. Domitian deified Julia Titi soon after her death, as testified by the reverses of coins with the legend "Diva Iulia," dated to 90–91 C.E.[6]

The portrait features distinguish the subject as Julia Titi and conform to those of the established typology, with a youthful face, broad-cheeked and wide-eyed.[7] The sculptor emphasized broad simplified features, smoothly modeled planes, and a limited reliance on linear contours (brows, lids, and lips). The underlying structure of the cheekbones is visible despite the youthful sleekness of the face, its enlarged features and swelling contours suggesting that the subject has just come of age. Set on the neck at a slight angle, the head projects a sense of engagement and delicacy. Most striking are the prominent, heavy-lidded eyes, set far apart, which are fully carved to project out from the lids. The tactile quality of the round forms, which was originally enhanced by the application of color on the irises, adds to the vividness of the face. A preference for softly curving and folded forms is also seen in the carving of the lips, with a supple contour line that disappears into the tucks at the corner of the mouth. The lips are slightly parted. In the profile view, the plumpness of the lower face, chin, and neck is evident. The unlined skin and soft contours of a beauty on the verge of maturity are attractive and recall idealized classical forms of perfect and ageless specimens. The portrait corresponds to a portrait head of Julia Titi in Solothurn that has been given a later Domitianic date (Daltrop et al. 1966:119, tafel 44).

The hair, swept up in a mass from the forehead, is articulated in deeply carved locks that ripple downward, as if weighted with moisture.[8] In the late classical and Hellenistic statues of Venus Anadyomene, the coiffure consists of a loose mound of hair softly piled on the head. Radiating outward from a central part, the swept-up hair seems about to come undone, cascading in waves that brush the forehead or reach the neck in tendrils in the back.[9] A single corkscrew curl drops down before the ears, a feature of the coiffure. The Venus locks are usually surmounted with a crowning feature, the hair looped as if in a broad bow or topknot, which is not well preserved here. The heavy, dripping locks evoke the mythological origins, the birth of Venus from the sea, and the statue type often depicts the goddess in the act of wringing out her wet hair, with bunches of tresses in each hand (and her garments knotted below at the hip). The illusion of moisture on the hair and the nude body also enhances the sensuality of the figure, since wet and glistening flesh (or hair) signals sexual arousal.[10] The coiffure represents dishabille, with the mop of upswept hair on the verge of disarray. The small lock spiraling downward before each ear provides advance warning of the dissolution of the high pile of hair. The carving emphasizes the pliability of wet hair, its ability to be sculpted into forms,

and then the moment before the strands lose tension and fall free.

The depiction of Julia Titi as Venus with the goddess's ideal coiffure is all the more striking in contrast to the way her hair is usually dressed in more typical portraits in the Flavian *lockentoupet*, with tightly wound curls, fine braids, and neatly combed parts (Figure 6.1).[11] The period hairstyle flaunts its careful articulation in distinct sections with a separate treatment of the hair in each. The construction of the coiffure, particularly the vertical ascent of its features in the front and back, is carefully and fully articulated. In the goddess's coiffure, the hair appears to have no visible means of support and is about to be in freefall. Its apparent stylelessness, however, does not stand opposite the structural elaboration of the Flavian *lockentoupet*. Rather, both show the sculptors' skills in carving hair, not only rendering it in marble but alluding to its qualities as a sculptural medium—that is, allowing for its allusive and plastic effects. Not only did sculptors of the period have to consider the artistry of hairdressers and replicate their products, but they also transferred or applied the processes or techniques from other craft traditions (metalworking, jewelry making, basketry, and weaving) to the carving of hairstyles in marble. In the carving of the Venus coiffure, the technique does not borrow from those of other media but rather allows us to glimpse the process by which hair takes on various shapes and also loses form as it reverts to its natural, unprocessed condition. Hair—as part of the body that can be altered or removed without much trouble—requires intervention at certain intervals, which long have been the focus of ritual activities or socially prescribed appearances in which to be properly attired requires the hair to be done. In the portrait sculpture of the period, the facture of the coiffures in marble pays tribute to the artistry of the adornment made of hair. More usually with elaborate coiffures, the hair is made to look like something else, a more permanent structure, which calls for sculptors to consider hair as a medium that was worked by the hairdressers and maids of the subject. The Venus coiffure, however, shows the upswept hair coming undone. In this statue of an imperial woman, it is striking for the hair above all to express a languid air of release or abandonment to the senses.

The Replica

A replica of the Copenhagen fragment is found in a head in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museums (Figure 6.3).[12] That a portrait was replicated in monumental form is considered evidence for the depiction of an imperial subject and attests to the significance of the statue type (Fejfer 2008:419–426). Although set atop a modern bust, the Vatican replica shares the same preference for large and round features, articulated even more broadly here. The eyelids are slightly wider, the lips thicker and also slightly parted, as in the Copenhagen head. Both heads display a contrast between the sharply edged contours of the brows, lids, and lips, for example, and the softly modeled curves of the cheeks and chin. In the Braccio Nuovo head, the nasal-labial passages are

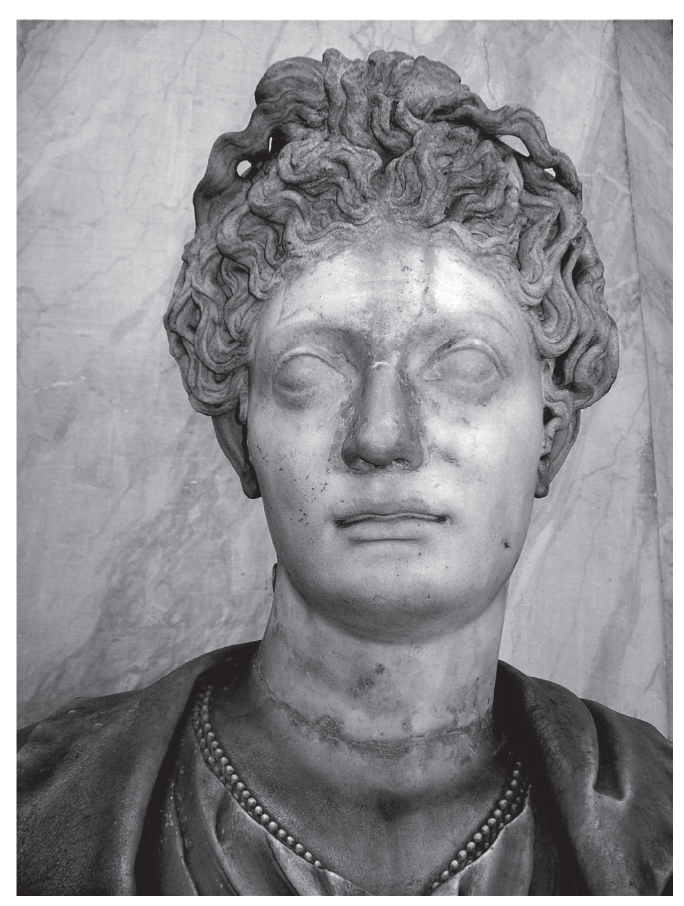


Figure 6.3. Portrait of Julia Titi as Venus. (Courtesy Braccio Nuovo, Vatican Museums, Rome, no. 78)

more pronounced. Rather than intending to show age, these features more likely resulted from the copying procedure. A simplification of forms also appears in the deeply undercut coiffure, with starkly separated locks that look like rivulets of water. The central part and bow-tie twist of hair on top are clearly visible, despite some damage. The coiffure gathers the locks into a large, loose bun in the back. The replica, as with the Copenhagen fragment, is dated to the later Domitianic period, after Julia's death in 89 C.E.

The existence of a replica of a portrait of a woman from the Flavian imperial house raises questions as to the context or display of the statues. The two statues may have outfitted a private setting, such as the imperial villa at Castelgandolfo (Suet. *Dom.* 17.3), and a public setting, the temple of the Flavian Dynasty on the Quirinal (erected on the site of Vespasian's house; Martial 9.3.12; 9.20.1; 9.34.2; Statius, *Silvae* 4.3.19; 5.1.240–1) or the imperial palace on the Palatine (Statius, *Silvae* 4.2.18–31). A public setting was

not out of the question, because the degree to which the marble figure was draped with clothing is not known. Even if the statue depicted the full-frontal nudity of the Capitoline Venus type, it would have been recognized as a conceit of art by the public—that is, the nudity was the costume of Venus (Bonfante 1989:543–570). The Venus iconography was particularly well suited to a dynastic monument to promote divine ancestry through founding myths, although Flavian monuments lacked allusions to the founding myths of Rome (Alexandridis 2004:86). It would be awkward to imagine the Venus portrait statue as part of a pair with a Mars portrait statue, because Julia Titi's husband, Sabinus, was executed by Domition for treason in 83 or 84 (Suet. *Dom.* 10.4). Her association with Venus was entirely conventional and expected, given the goddess's aura of beauty and grace. Not only were the women of the previous dynasty, the Julio-Claudians, endowed with attributes of Venus; Julia Titi also possessed the bittersweet profile of one who died with unfinished business, who was no longer married and without children.[13] Her commemoration and deification were the rewards for a life lived in the service of the imperial court (Wood 2010:51–54).

Reception

The beauty and grace of the statue evoked by Martial corresponds to the qualities of the Copenhagen fragment and its replica (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). The portrait and replica of the youthful and graceful Julia Titi are not wearing a period coiffure but the damp locks of Venus. The Copenhagen fragment did not fully comply with the combination of ideal body and realistic head, the standard for the mythological portrait. The Copenhagen fragment's figure, whether draped or undraped, cannot be ascertained. (If nude, then it could very well have provided a model for the statues of matrons, but the imperial women following Julia Titi were not represented unclothed.) Lacking extant marble bodies, the two portraits are easily identified as Venus through the hairstyles. This situation is curious because it departs from the defining characteristics of the Venus portraits of anonymous (or unidentified) matrons wearing period coiffures in the late first and second centuries C.E. This format dominates the corpus of mythological portraits identified by the loveliness of their nude or partially undraped figures. The extent of Venus portrait statuary is problematic due to the prevalence of reuse: the appeal of the nude or seminude body of the goddess prompted the removal of heads and rearrangement of parts by later collectors. This has to be kept in mind with only 16 extant nude portraits of Roman matrons documented (Hallett 2005:219).

Furthermore, the portrait statue and replica, produced early in the development of the type in the 90s C.E., were not copied, either in imperial or private portrait sculpture. What may have been the missing link seems to have been a dead end. The lack of popularity of the statue type, however,

is instructive, as it suggests how the body type and the portrait head evoked a range of associations as they were variously combined in the development of the sculpture from the late first through the second century C.E. It is more usual to find imperial portrait and statue types wielding influence over sculpture commissioned by private citizens. Recent research suggests that the statuary of imperial women often follows, rather than leads, that of women of established rank and privilege in the senatorial order. Imperial women of the high empire were depicted as belonging to the cohort of reserved and dignified matrons—they did not appear to stand out from them (Fejfer 2008:331–369). Julia Titi's Copenhagen statue provides an exception to this observation.

The singularity of the Copenhagen fragment type and its replica raises the question of imperial influence and popular taste. Why was it that the Venus locks were not adapted for the portrait statuary of matrons? In the matrons' nude statues (Figure 6.1), the mythological disguise ended at the neckline, and the highly processed hairstyles of the late first and early second century tower over the assemblage of parts. In modern social theory, the appropriation of mainstream culture is often seen as an act of resistance, as styles are adopted by subordinate groups, who dispense with so-called propriety and good taste as they refashion the look (Hebdige 1998:5–19). Different social groups in Rome of the high empire erected mythological portrait statuary, but it appears that features and motifs were altered and inflected with varying meanings. In the Copenhagen fragment (Figure 6.2), the Venus locks may have been appropriate for the recently deified emperor's niece with neither husband nor issue. The sensuality evoked by the moist loose hair may have been less appropriate for matrons, whose tendrils were wrapped into upholstered orbs of tightly wound curls and plaits. The choice of coiffure, then, was manipulated to affect the display of mythological allusion and, in this case, eroticism.

Mythological motifs were magnified, reduced, or even completely rearranged in ways that conveyed meaning to those who commissioned the sculpture. An example of a portrait head with multiple coiffures is worth examining: a battered female head from an early-second-century draped portrait statue in Rome is dressed in three superimposed layers (Plate 6.1) (Fittschen and Zanker 1983:56, no. 74, tafel 92). A veil covers part of the turban coiffure, wound from narrow plaits piled atop the back of the head; a hair band forms a frame; and the front bears a thicket of wavy curls resembling nothing more than the locks of Venus Anadyomene. Furthermore, the Venus locks appear to be a wig, because finer strands of hair are carved lying flat below them. We may ask why this emphatic covering of the head was required, yet each layer of adornment demonstrates a certain level of transparency: the veil delineates the profile of the turban of braids beneath, the hair band marks the division between

the wig in front and the veil, and the richly textured waves cresting over the forehead give way to the subject's own hair pressed flat on the head. The accumulated adornment reveals the process of the toilette, of turning oneself out for public appearances. Here the Venus locks were taken out of their usual context to provide a decorative accessory. We may see this as minimizing the allusion to Venus. This conclusion, however, ignores the work of Venus in giving shape, harmony, and order to the glory of the female form. The orderly arrangement of features, the elegance of their highly wrought forms, and the logic of the underlying system testify to the brilliance of this cosmos.

Notes

1 See Statius (*Silv.* 5.1.232–235) on the mythological portrait statuary of Priscilla, the wife of Abascantus, an imperial freedman of Domitian.

2 See Fejfer (2008:110–115) for a corrective to conventional notions about status and art forms/styles.

3 Fejfer 2008:390–393. See Marvin (2008:10–15) on Roman ambivalence about their identity and their inferiority to the Greeks in the arts.

4 For images on the reverse of coins that associate Julia Titi with Venus, see *BMCRE* 2:247, nos.139, 141–143, plate 47, 15–16. (Venus is shown from behind, half-naked to the hips.)

5 Johansen (1995:44) states: "The draped formation indicates an original insertion in a statue" although drapery does not appear to be visible on the section, Alexandridis (2004:86) assumes that a fully naked figure was displayed on the statue in the types of a Capitoline or Medici Venus.

6 *BMCRE* 2:402, no. 458, plate 80.3 (showing a *carpentum* drawn by mules).

7 Daltrop et al. 1966:115, tafel 45 (Copenhagen fragmented statue, 119, tafel 44). (Solothurn portrait, private collection.)

8 Boardman 1981:52–54.

9 See Bieber (1977:64) on the Anadyomene type being misnamed—the goddess is depicted not rising from the sea but arranging her hair and tying two bunches of locks in a knot at the crown of her head. The name comes from a painting by Apelles of Kos in the late fourth century B.C.E.

10 See Seaman (2004:562–563) on the prenuptial bath and the "dewy qualities of the eyes associated with seduction."

11 See Herrmann (1991:34–50) on the architecture of the Flavian *toupet*.

12 See Amelung 1903:95, no. 78; Daltrop et al. 1966:118; Alexandridis 2004:173, no. 148, tafel 31.4; and Fittschen and Zanker 1983:49, no. 62, note 5) on the striking relationship between the Copenhagen fragment and the Braccio Nuovo replica.

13 McDermott and Orentzel 1979:87, 92. Julia Titi was probably born in 63 or 64 and died in 89, or perhaps early 90, at the age of 25 to 27.

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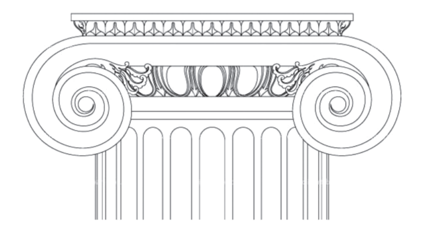
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CHAPTER SEVEN



A Portrait of a Bearded Man Flanked by Isis and Serapis

Mary Louise Hart

This article is presented in homage to my doctoral advisor, Susan Downey, with profound thanks for her friendship and mentorship. The topic presents an initial stage of a new investigation into an old acquisition again on display at one of Susan's favorite places, the Getty Villa at Malibu, where she brought her classes for decades.

In 1974 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired three late-Roman tempera-on-wood panel paintings. They were introduced to the museum by then curator of antiquities Jiri Frel as having once formed a Romano-Egyptian "devotional box" and were assigned a date of the early third century C.E. (Plate 7.1).[1] With a complicated network of scientific, archaeological, and art historical research and interpretation having grown over the intervening 30 years, the three panels were thought not well enough understood to join the display when the Villa reopened in 2006. During these years and subsequently, numerous exhibitions of mummy portraits (particularly the *Ancient Faces* exhibitions at the British Museum in 1997 and the Metropolitan Museum in New York in 2000) and sacred panels (*Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai* at the Getty Center in 2006), with their accompanying catalogs, inspired renewed interest in the contexts of these extraordinary works of art. From 2002 to 2012, curators, conservators, and scientists at the Villa conducted numerous in-depth investigations to better understand the construction and function of the panels. As a result of this analysis, the three panels—*Portrait of a Bearded Man* and painted images of the two most important gods of Roman Egypt, Isis and Serapis—were returned to display

as a Romano-Egyptian triptych, with the opinion that this format indicates one of several functions they may have served in their very complicated history.[2]

The largest panel is a portrait of a young man painted on a nearly square piece of sycomore fig wood[3] and presented in the traditional style and iconographic format of contemporary mummy portraits (Figure 7.1). The gods Isis and Serapis are each depicted on two narrower wing panels. The wood used for these panels, also sycomore fig, was split vertically from a single piece before painting. That all three panels are of sycomore fig wood is now seen to argue for their unity in antiquity (Cartwright et al. 2011:56). The side panels were originally thought to have been painted by the same artist as the central portrait.[4] However, extensive testing and

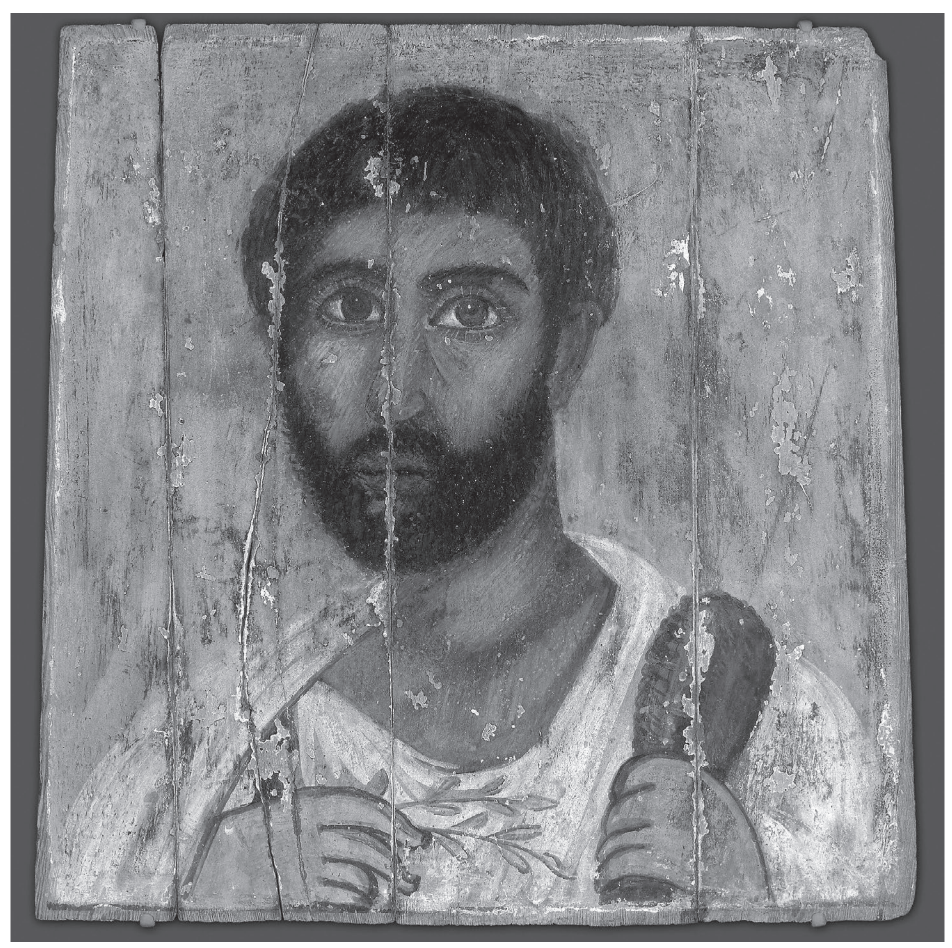


Figure 7.1. *Portrait of a Bearded Man,* about 100 C.E. Unknown artist. Tempera on wood. Height 36 cm; width 37.5 cm; depth .3 cm. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)

imaging have shown that while the "exuberant originality" assigned to the male portrait is the result of modern intervention, the side panels retain much of their original surface. Pigment application across the three panels is comparable. However, current scientific analysis—while showing analogous painting methods—does not show a commonality of style that would allow for identical attribution. In sum, while the side panels were always correctly attributed to a single painter, the portrait is now seen to be the work of another painter working in the same tradition.

Soon after their acquisition, the panels were exhibited as a Romano-Egyptian triptych from the Fayum region.[5] The registrar's records state: "Before WWI, these were part of the Graf collection in Vienna." Theodor Graf was a nineteenth-century Viennese businessman, collector, and dealer of mummy portraits. He built his large collection partly through dealers in Cairo and partly under his own direction at the site of Er-Rubayat during the late 1880s, at the same time Flinders Petrie was working not far away at Hawara.[6] There is no physical or literal evidence that the three Getty panels were in Graf's possession; they are not mentioned in any of the lists or catalogs Graf published to accompany his exhibitions of mummy portraits, nor are they stamped for identification on the reverse as many of his panels were.[7]

It was common for mummy portraits to be restored immediately after they came into the possession of collectors and dealers; the Getty panels were apparently subjected to at least one heavy restoration campaign before their acquisition. Once acquired, they would have undergone further analysis and possible treatment, and since that time they have been extensively analyzed by conservators from the Getty Museum and the Conservation Institute. This work first focused on understanding the materials and authenticity of the panels, but it did not uncover new information that could illuminate their ancient context or function. More recent organic analysis has revealed a number of different components assuring the ancient integrity and commonality of the panels but has also uncovered evidence of modern restoration in need of clarification. The overall picture presents a complex history of restoration and conservation combined with an art historical context of great import.[8]

The technique is tempera: pigment suspended in a water-soluble binding agent, here probably animal glue, applied over a layer of white gesso. The conspicuous stylistic difference between the portrait and the gods was due, according to Frel, to the lifelike requirements demanded by the ritual function of mummy portraits, in contrast to the innate conservatism that governed representations of divinities (Thompson 1982:25). The paintings of Serapis and Isis were seen to have been copied from monumental lost masterpieces. After initially considering the side panels to have been "painted by an artist who normally produced mummy panels (although not the artist of the central panel [Thompson 1976:16])," D. L. Thompson later agreed with Frel, suggesting that the original models may have been "important cult paintings installed in a major

shrine of Roman Egypt, possibly even at Alexandria" (Thompson 1978–1979:190; 1982:48),[9] and finally: "Painterly details such as the brushwork and the palette employed are identical in all three panels. The distinctive use of a rich maroon for facial shading is particularly noteworthy" (Thompson 1982:48). Scientific and imaging analysis of all three panels has shown that tempera demands a specific application process. Although this could suggest a commonality of style among painters, the stylistic differences between the side panels and the central portrait (such as pigment modulation and discernable brushstrokes) are strong enough to indicate that they were painted by different artists.

The vivid appearance and distinctive iconography of *Portrait of a Bearded Man* belong to the world of Romano-Egyptian funerary portraiture (Figure 7.1). Constructed out of four pieces of sycomore fig and later splintered and repaired in antiquity, this panel was assembled to hold a larger composition than the area of the face required had it been intended to cover a mummy. Because the panel was not cut down to fit the exposed area left by the mummy wrappings, the portrait of the bearded man never served as a mummy mask and was perhaps never intended to do so. Nevertheless, the portrait format is the same: his upper and lower eyelids are outlined in black and edged with thick beige lashes. His dark hair and beard are closely cropped in Trajanic fashion; small individual curls of ancient paint emerge from the edges of his beard, which is otherwise largely restored, as is the mouth, the lower part of the face, and much of the hair. The shape of the hair and beard are comparable with masterpieces dated to the late Flavian–early Trajanic eras of the second half of the first century, such as the portrait of Isidora in the Getty collection (Plate 7.2), with her similar hairstyle formed by tight curls.[10] The man wears a traditional white tunic, mantle, and narrow *clavus,* a basic Roman dress also worn by priests and commonly seen in other funeral portraits. He holds the symbols of his afterlife: a wreath of rose petals in his left hand and a spray of verdant olive leaves in his right.

The unpainted, beveled edge on all four sides of the panel indicates that it was once framed. Analysis of the painted surface shows that the background was painted up to the edge of the beveled area, suggesting the panel was framed before it was painted. Framed portraits of men and women have been recovered from this period, although they are far less numerous than mummy portraits.[11] Reminiscent of the tradition of *pinakes* described by Pliny and seen in Campanian wall painting, they were hung on walls in ancient times (Walker 2000:figure 7) and have been discovered in tombs. The well-known framed portrait found by Flinders Petrie in his 1889 Hawara excavations, now in the British Museum, was found in a tomb, leaning face forward on a plain wrapped mummy.[12] The very damaged image of a woman, also painted on sycomore fig wood, is dated to 50–70 C.E. The twisted rope from which the painting once hung is still attached to the upper horizontal projections of the frame. The significance of this find for the Getty panels rests in its

evidential preservation of an Oxford, or eight-point, external frame combined with another, internal frame. While the British Museum portrait frames a single panel only, such a frame could provide structural support for wings to be set inside its outer edges when paired with an interior frame constructed with mitered joins at the corners.[13]

The heads and shoulders of the consort gods Serapis (Figure 7.2) and Isis (Figure 7.3) fill the painted field in three-quarter bust view and are framed at top and bottom by painted black bands. The ragged untrimmed tops and outer edges of the panels show that they were cut after being painted. The upturned eyes of the gods are in striking contrast to the direct gaze of the portrait.[14] Crowned with insignia of identification and rank, they each turn slightly outward, gazing upward with large eyes edged in shadow, pupils raised to their upper lids. Soft modulation of brown pigment creates depth beneath their lower lids, which are capped with fluid strokes of black to support the lashes. Marked by the glance of the eyes and the turn of the head, the Hellenistic painting tradition is evoked by the fluid application of tonal ranges of paint intended to produce an effect of three-dimensionality at great variance from the traditionally flat, two-dimensional painting tradition of Egypt.

Isis, sister-wife to Osiris and mother of Horus, was the most significant goddess of the Hellenistic world. She is crowned by a uraeus and veiled by a transparent cloth (outlined in white and ocher pigments) held aloft by the horns of Hathor. Her pale face is framed by thick shoulder-length black corkscrew curls, symbolizing her fertility and beauty. Crowning her head is a golden diadem, to which large ornamental leaves have been attached. A garland of pink-and-maroon flowers edged in black fringe is draped over her left shoulder; opposite, her protective Isis knot, or *tyet* knot, secures the bronze-toned himation covering her blue mantle. A black scepter embellished with motifs in ocher—to represent gold—leans against her right shoulder. Isis wears gold uraeus-shaped earrings and three necklaces, the larger one accentuated by multiple pendants and the smaller assembled from spherical beads. A third necklace, painted in green jarosite (nearly invisible), falls between these two. Pintles are preserved at the top and bottom left of the panel. Whereas the right shoulder of the goddess extends behind the staff she holds, her left shoulder and the bottom tip of her hair resting upon it have been slightly trimmed. In addition, a notch has been cut out of the center of this edge, probably to assist the opening and closing of this wing.

Serapis, the Greco-Egyptian consort of Isis and god of the sun and fertility, is fully bearded, with thick hair reaching nearly to his shoulders. His dark complexion is in stark contrast to the pale visage of the goddess. Serapis wears a simple brown chiton with folds detailed in black. His complex headpiece consists of three elements: surrounding his face, a wreath embellished with golden leaves and connected—perhaps fastened—by an ornamental knot just above his forehead; above this, a gold diadem embellished by a six-pointed star; surmounting it all a gold *modius* (grain measure) covered



Figure 7.2. Panel with Serapis. Late first century B.C.E.–early first century C.E. Unknown artist. Tempera on wood. 39.1 x 19.1 x 1.6 cm. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)

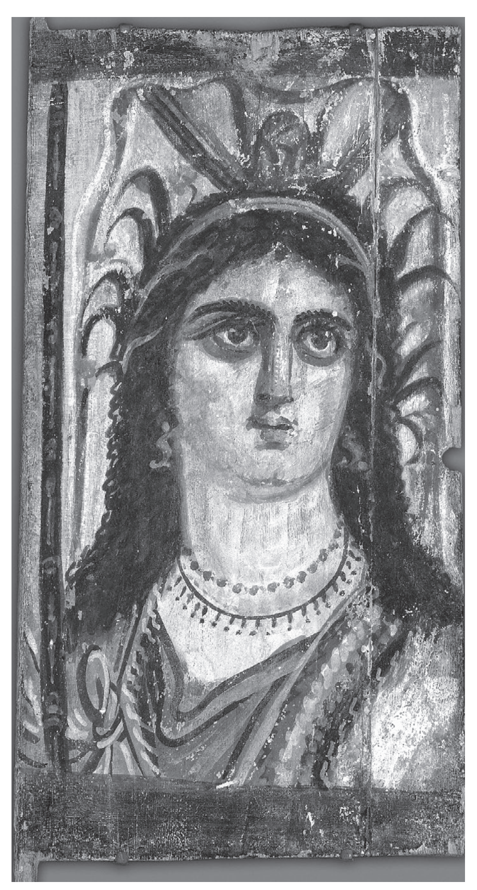


Figure 7.3. Panel with Isis. Late first century B.C.E.–early first century C.E. Unknown artist. Tempera on wood. Height 40 cm; width 19 cm; depth 1.3 cm. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)

with leaves. From behind his head emerge five full sets of golden rays.[15] One of the pintles resulting from the cutting of the panel remains on the bottom right. The wood also appears to have been trimmed on the left; a small portion of the god's headdress was removed in the process and a batten of sycomore fig was attached behind, to facilitate handling.

In contrast to their tops and outer edges, the inside edges of both panels are rounded from wear, presumably from use as doors. The excellent condition of the painted surfaces indicates that they must have been kept in a protected location, possibly a home or a temple. The trimming of both panels suggests that they were modified from

a previous format to coordinate with the dimensions of the portrait and to securely fit into the sides of its wooden frame as part of a hinging mechanism. This allowed them to swivel in order to simultaneously present all three panels when open (as diagramed first by Ehlich 1953:177, figure 49; followed by Thompson 1978–1979:190–191; and Mathews 2001:171, figure 1D; 2006:42, figure 42D). The reuse and manipulation of painted panels was common in Egypt, as wood was scarce. Based on ^{14}C dating, the panels with the gods may be dated as early as the late first century B.C.E., while the portrait panel has been dated stylistically to around 100 C.E., supported by a ^{14}C date of late first–early second century C.E.[16]

From the first publications of Frel and Thompson, the three paintings were seen to be either a once-united triptych used as a domestic shrine for private devotion or the remains of a *klappbild,* the painted panels of a box-shaped shrine that had lost its wooden support walls and frame (Frel 1974:no. 5; Thompson 1976:16).[17] D. L. Thompson concluded that the Getty panels "comprise the earliest painted triptych in Western art of which all three panels survive" (Thompson 1978–1979:192). Triptych assemblages of painted panels are well documented in ancient Roman painting: illusionistic folding frames protect painted *pinakes* in the House of the Cryptoporticus in Pompeii (Walker 2000:figure 3), and a painter stands in front of a triptych set on an easel on a painted sarcophagus from Kerch, now in the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Walker 2000:figure 7). In either case, images of Isis and Serapis—possibly having served a previous religious function in a protected environment—were perhaps adapted to fit a preexisting portrait of a deceased man. The robust preservation of the deities, in addition to the patina of the unpainted wood on their reverse, indicates that when the triptych was closed, the gods faced inward, toward the man. When open, the triptych would presumably have functioned as an intimate domestic shrine, probably in the context of a Roman *domus* and a Roman family. The eyes of the gods turn up and out from the open position, unlike the man's eyes, which gaze directly toward his mortal counterpart. (See Cormack 2005.)

While *Portrait of a Bearded Man* clearly belongs to the Romano-Egyptian funerary tradition of mummy portraits, the art historical context of Isis and Serapis is different. They belong to a corpus of pagan icons seen to be precursors to Christian icons. Around 60 tempera panels painted with gods and goddesses—all originating in Roman Egypt—are currently known (Mathews 1999:177–190, 214 note 17; Rondot 2013; Sorries 2003; Walker 2000:124–127). Isis especially has stylistic and iconographic counterparts within this group. Her iconography has been seen to prefigure icons of the Virgin Mary (Mathews 2006:49, figure 47). More rarely, depictions of Serapis, of which this is one of the most prominent, are similarly seen to anticipate early images of Christ (Matthews 1999:184–186). The Getty

triptych is uniquely placed within this corpus in its combination of a human portrait flanked by these divinities, and as an extremely early appearance of a multipaneled assemblage of paintings in the service of devotional use.

Egypt's millennia-long tradition of accompanying the dead with protective gods is an international hallmark of iconography. Lifelike portraits combined with Egyptian imagery and symbols of the afterlife seem an incongruous juxtaposition but are characteristic during the first three-four centuries C.E., when funerary shrouds painted with traditional flat Egyptian registers of gods enacting rejuvenation rites accompanied lifelike portraits of the dead painted according to the Greek tradition (Riggs 2005:98, figure 39). Where in several centuries there will be a mixture of pagan and Christian symbolism, at this time there is a combination of Greek, Roman, and Egyptian style and iconography that could have made possible the assembly of a triptych or shrine to the memory of a departed Roman who placed religious value in the powerful protection of Isis and Serapis (Rondot 2013:262 [quoting Lorelei Corcoran]). In the portraits of the gods, linearity is replaced by modulation and two-dimensionality by the use of a variety of hues to achieve a three-dimensional portrayal. With their reference to future iconic imagery, it can be seen that representing Egyptian gods in Hellenistic Greek form pointed toward traditional imagery associated with the icon.

Pagan icons such as Isis and Serapis provide a historical context for that practice of worship, which in this format comingled with the cult of the dead and bound the living to the deceased in piety. It is only a step to consider the origin of icon painting in this context, and scholars have seen that the religious phenomenon of venerating the icon started in the home, and in Egypt, where Mary first received the epithet Theotokos, a title once reserved for Isis (Mathews 2005:47).

Notes

1 J. Paul Getty Museum 74.AP.20, 74.AP.21, 74.AP.22. Frel 1974:nos. 23-25.

2 The most recent and fullest publication on the side panels and their relationship to the "central" panel is in Rondot 2013. V. Rondot's important catalog appeared after this article was submitted for publication.

3 Cartwright et al. 2011:50, 51, 54, figure 8, 57. The sycomore fig panels often used for mummy portraits came from trees indigenous to Egypt. This is not the similarly spelled sycamore tree familiar to residents of California.

4 Thompson 1978–1979:188; repeated in 1982:48.

5 They were first exhibited with Isis on the left and Serapis on the right, as in Walker 2000:figure 9.

6 Yet identification of these find spots remains imprecise, as in Roberts in Picton et al. 2007:14–15.

7 All three panels have been marked with the number 120 in Arabic in green pigment on their reverse. The ink has not been tested to determine its properties or its date, but it was common for panels to be marked on their reverse at the time of excavation.

8 Full publication of the extensive conservation analysis and research on these panels is forthcoming. The present article represents a preliminary stage in our research process and would have been impossible to write without the generous exchanges and observations shared with my colleagues Marie Svoboda, Jeffrey Maish, and Marc Walton at the Getty Villa in Malibu. I would also like to thank Barbara Borg and Lorelei Corcoran for their valuable advice and observations. Claire Lyons, curator of antiquities, and Jerry Podany, formerly senior conservator at the J. Paul Getty Museum, have provided essential support for the research of these panels.

9 The Serapeum at Alexandria was the chief temple of Serapis and played a prominent role in the religious history of late Roman Egypt.

10 For this reason, the date of *Portrait of a Bearded Man* has been adjusted to near 100 C.E. from the mid-third-century C.E. date previously assigned to it by Thompson 1982:46.

11 Two male portraits: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 686/687 in Parlasca 1966:67, no. 5, plate 22, figure 3; Sorries 2003:no. 22; Vienna, Österreiches Nationalbibliothek, Papyrussammlung, inv. no. G807 in Parlasca 1966:67, no. 2, plate 38, figure 1; Parlasca and Seemann 1999:43, figure 38 (in color); Sorries 2003:no. 37.

12 British Museum 1889.10-18.1. Picton et al 2007:63; Walker 2000:figure 8; Sorries 2003:no. 23.

13 Other framed paintings are preserved. They include Sorries 2003:nos. 12 and 34; Mathews 1999:181, figure 139; and Mathews 2006:53, figure 51, an icon of Serapis and Soknebtynis, Alexandria Museum 22978. Only the British Museum portrait preserves evidence of double framing, with an interior mitered frame and an exterior eight-point frame.

14 The position of the eyes on the faces of divinities and whether or not they appear to meet the human (mortal exterior) gaze would become an important feature of early icon painting. See Cormack 2005. The representation of the Madonna in the sixth-century Sinai painting *Enthroned Mother of God with Angels and Saints* has also been seen to have direct antecedents in pagan depictions of Isis: Mathews 2006:47–49.

15 With a partial sixth set at the bottom-right edge of his hair.

16 ^{14}C dates for the Serapis batten and the central panel (2012) were provided by Earth System Science, Keck AMS Laboratory, University of California–Irvine. The ^{14}C date for the Serapis panel (2003) was provided by Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory, National Isotope Centre, GNS Science, New Zealand.

17 Additionally in a letter from Klaus Parlasca to Marion True, curator of antiquities, January 17, 2000: “The portrait makes up the rear wall, the two boards with Isis and Serapis are the wings of a shrine door, which cover the portrait. The divinities are then facing one another” (translation by the author).

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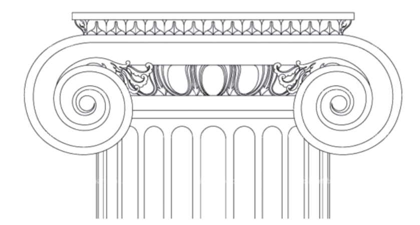
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CHAPTER EIGHT

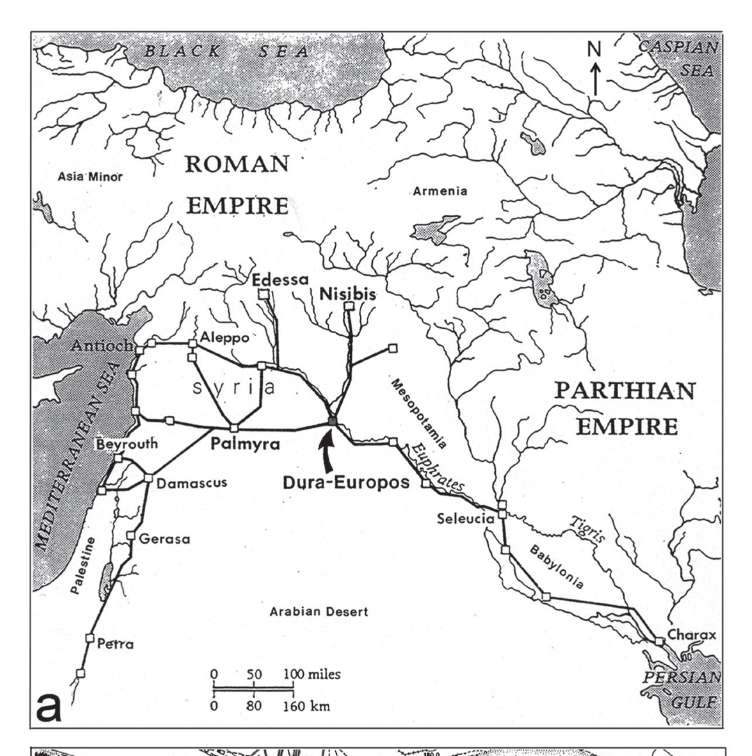


A Deuteronomic Theme and Second Sophistic Rhetoric in the Dura-Europos Synagogue Paintings[1]

May Oppenheim Talbot

Eighty-three years have passed since a French and American team of archaeologists discovered a third-century C.E. synagogue in the ruins of Dura-Europos along the Euphrates River in Syria (Figure 8.1) (Hopkins 1979). The find's value proved to be multifaceted. It was securely dated to 245 C.E. (Kraeling 1956:263), a sparsely documented period in emerging rabbinic Judaism, when the Jews were still recovering from two unsuccessful rebellions against the Romans in Judaea. The Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed in 70 C.E., and the Jews were expelled from Jerusalem in 135 C.E. No literary or epigraphical reference to the Dura-Europos synagogue or its congregation has been found, but its assembly room held an unexpected treasure. Despite damage to the upper portions of the room, the remains indicated that all four walls had been painted with panels depicting Jewish biblical heroes and their heroic deeds (Kraeling 1956). They are still the earliest known continuous narrative cycles of biblical art (Gutmann 1988).

Since the west wall of the Dura-Europos synagogue was the most completely preserved, its painting program was the focus of many scholars of art, history, and religion (e.g., Du Mesnil du Buisson 1939; Goodenough 1964; Kraeling 1956; Sonne 1947; Weitzmann and Kessler 1990; Wischnitzer 1948). Due to differences in interpretation of individual panels and of themes expressed across panels, however, no consensus has emerged on the larger question of the intended goals of the program's designer(s) or what the program tells us about the contemporary concerns of its intended audience. This state of affairs is illustrated by several contrasting opinions. Carl Kraeling, the author of the final report



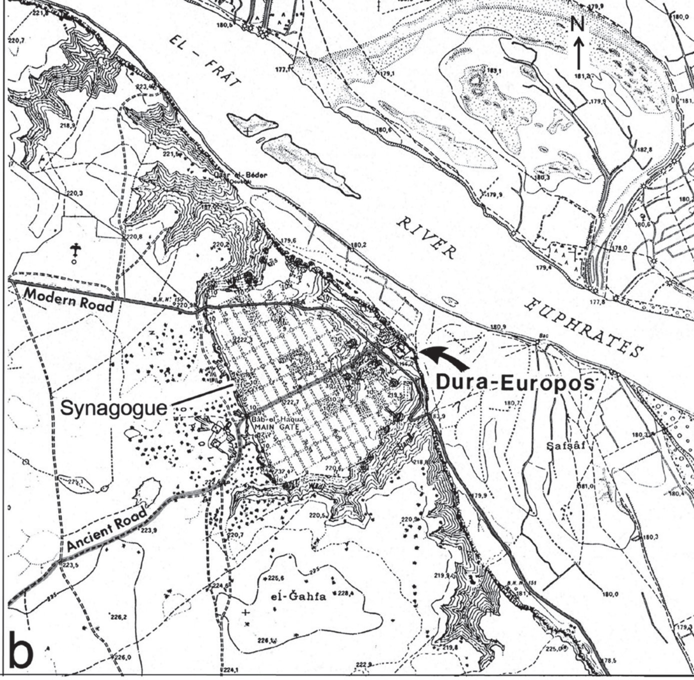


Figure 8.1. Dura-Europos along trade routes in late antiquity. (a) Map of the city's location in Syria along routes connecting it to Hellenized cites, notably Antioch (adapted from Perkins 1973:figure 1). (b) Closer view of Dura-Europos along the Euphrates, showing the likely ancient road to the city's main gate, the modern road, and the location of the synagogue near the west wall of the city (adapted from Rostovtzeff 1938:figure 4).

on the Dura-Europos synagogue, believed that the intended function of the narrative painting program was to teach the Durene congregation lessons from its biblical past, as seen in individual panels (Kraeling 1956:350). Responding to that assessment, the classicist and rabbinical scholar Moses Hadas remarked, "Professor Kraeling is doubtless right, but the spectator is left with a sense of bafflement nevertheless; surely something more was involved than a discontinuous series of rather crude representations of Bible stories" (Hadas 1957:81). That we could learn what might be missing was questioned by the art historian and rabbi Joseph Gutmann. While appreciating that the paintings added to our understanding of the role of art in telling Jewish religious history, Gutmann concluded that the paintings could not tell us anything about the Durene congregation (Gutmann 1973:144).

Based on an iconographical analysis of the synagogue's west wall painting program and on consideration of the religious and cultural context in which it was created, this essay argues that the intention of the designer(s) was indeed more than teaching from single narrative panels, that the painting program was meant to highlight a Deuteronomic theme of particular contemporary relevance to the Durene congregation, and that certain design choices were influenced by Greek rhetoric in general and Second Sophistic rhetoric in particular.

The West Wall Program and Its Deuteronomic Theme

Since the west wall of the assembly room actually ran along a northwest–southeast compass line (Figure 8.1b), congregants facing it were essentially facing Jerusalem. All eyes would thus have been turned toward this wall during religious services. At the center of this sacred wall was a Torah shrine (Plate 8.1 and Figure 8.2), the earliest known example of such a shrine permanently installed and found intact (Myers 1984:174). The scenes depicted on the west wall and its Torah shrine (Plate 8.1 and Figure 8.2) are especially informative for two related reasons. They were an intended background for the sermons delivered in the synagogue and would most likely have illustrated the meaning and importance of those sermons. As such, the west wall scenes provide a rare window into the Sabbath experience of third-century Jews loyal to their ancient faith. It is reasonable to assume that their special concerns determined the iconographic choices made in their synagogue painting program. An iconographical analysis should thus help us determine what those special concerns were. To do such an analysis of the west wall paintings, we must first understand their essential design features.

Basic Organization and Content of the West Wall Painting Program

The assembly room containing the synagogue paintings was among the largest rooms found in Dura-Europos. Rectangular in shape, it was about 13.65 m (44.78 feet) wide, 7.68 m (25.19 feet) deep, and 7 m (22.97 feet) high. There were two double-leaved doors on the long east wall: one a large, central portal and the other a small door near the south wall. Inside, mortar benches built against all four walls were interrupted only by the doors, the

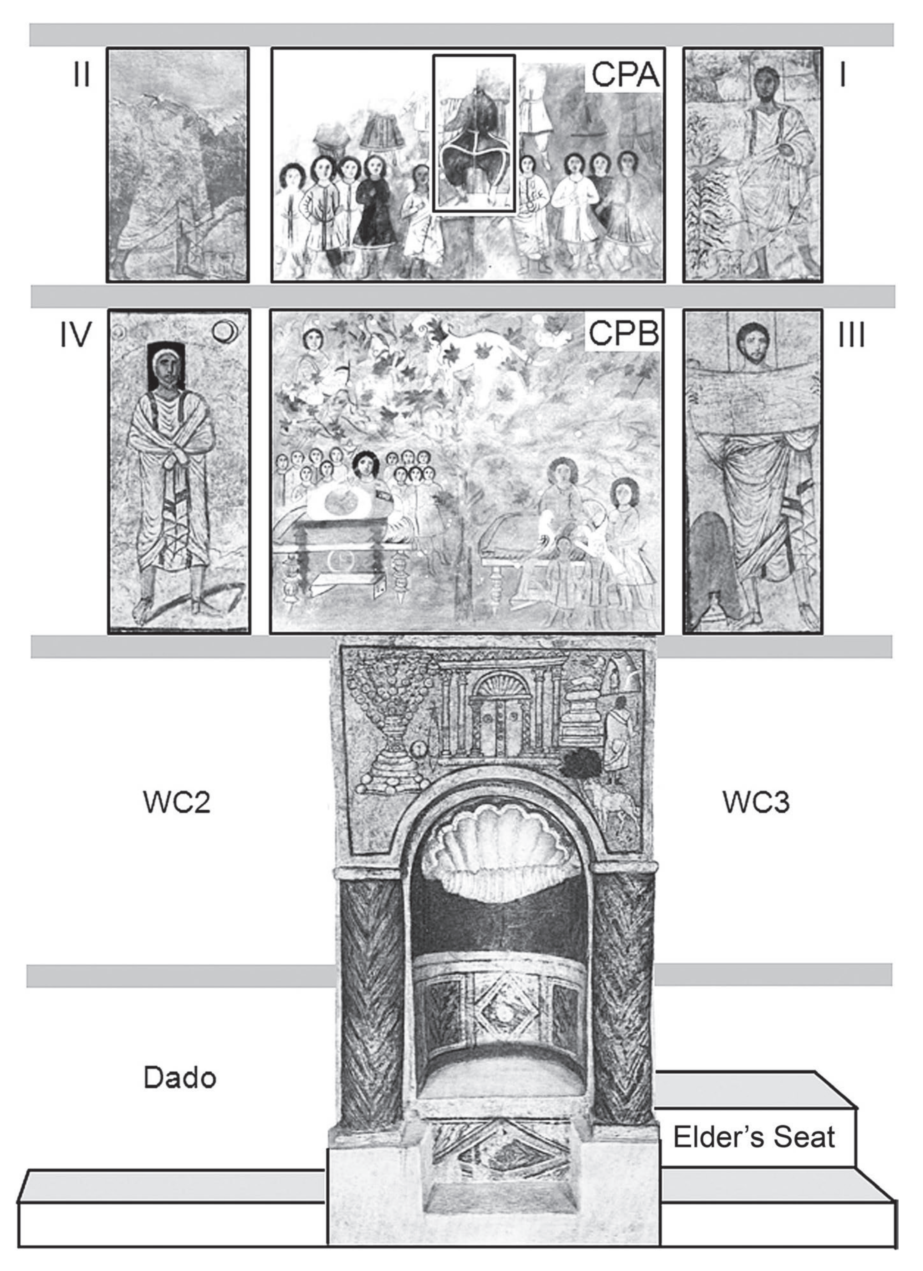


Figure 8.2. Sacred center of the west wall in the Dura-Europos synagogue based on plates in Kraeling (1956:plates XXXVI and LXXVI–LXVIII). Above the Torah shrine are central panels A and B (CPA and CPB, respectively). These are flanked by wing panels I–IV depicting Moses at crucial stages in biblical history (see text). Note that the portrait of Moses reading a scroll is immediately above the seat of the *archisynagogus,* who would have read Deuteronomy to the congregation.

Torah shrine, and the Speaker's seat structurally connected to the shrine (Plate 8.1a, b and Figure 8.2). Daylight entered through splayed openings near the ceiling on the east and west walls (Plate 8.1a). Additional lighting may have been provided by menorahs placed near the shrine and probably elsewhere in the room.

The horizontally arranged registers converged on the vertically organized central section. There were originally five horizontal registers covering the wall above the benches. The top register was destroyed before excavation. Below it were three narrative registers occupying most of the wall. Each of these registers (A to C from top to bottom) consisted of four to seven paintings in panels separated from one another and other registers by a stylized vine or ribbon motif (Plate 8.1a, b), well-known from Antioch mosaics (Levi 1947:453–454). The upper two registers (A and B) are bracketed by faux pilasters at either end of the west wall (Plate 8.1a). The bottom register, the dado, depicts a rich assortment of female and male theater masks, lions, and tigers (Plate 8.1c–e).

The sacred center (Figure 8.2) was rooted in the Torah shrine with a niche housing the Torah during religious services. Nothing in the synagogue carried greater importance than the Torah shrine; this is borne out by three references to Jewish history on the facade over the niche. On our right is an abbreviated scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac; on our left stands a tall, glowing menorah; in the center, pride of place is given to a symbolic representation of the Jerusalem Temple portal. These images express Jewish New Year's hopes for redemption and restoration, embodied in the prayers for return to the homeland and a rebuilt Temple. Rising above the Torah shrine are two superposed panels aligned with the bracketed registers A and B (Figure 8.2). The lower of the superposed panels (the central panel of register B) features Jacob/Israel and his sons (the tribal fathers); above them, David plays the lyre next to the Lion of Judah. The upper panel (the central panel of register A) depicts an enthroned figure (boxed in Figure 8.2) with two special attendants surrounded by a group of young men. By his elevated position alone, this enthroned figure would appear to be the most important person on the wall, if not in the whole room. Though he may be a Davidic king, his identity is uncertain because his head is not visible and he is not named in a surviving inscription.

Judging from these and other panels on the west wall, we can see that the chosen subject matter focused on Jewish religious history and its heroes: Elijah, Ezekiel, Moses, David, and others who loomed large as saviors of the Jews in one way or another. The sources, however, were often extrabiblical, derived ultimately from the Hebrew Bible but reinterpreted to give the story and its hero a current relevance, as in rabbinic literature of the time (Daube 1949:241–253). The designer(s) appear to have gone a step further, presenting the heroes as part of dramas, most notably in registers A and C.

The Deuteronomic Theme

Flanking both central panels above the shrine are four portrait panels (wing panels I–IV; Figure 8.2 and Plates 8.1a,b and 8.2a). Each panel shows a single, robed male. Those in register A are barefoot, while those in register B wear sandals. The

male in the upper right panel (Wing Panel I) faces a burning bush and is identified by an Aramaic inscription as "Moses, Son of Levi." The portrait in the next panel (Wing Panel II) is badly damaged, so that we see only the lower part of the subject's body, which is turned from us as he reaches up to receive what are presumably the Tablets of the Law from God. In the lower right panel (Wing Panel III) stands a tall, dignified man holding before him a wide scroll with signs of writing visible on the viewer's side. To his right sits a round-topped, covered container, thought to contain the other scrolls of the Pentateuch (Figure 8.2 and Plates 8.1b and 8.2a). I have argued elsewhere that this is Moses reading from his work, Deuteronomy (Talbot 1997:68–70). The late Moshe Weinfeld, a leading authority on Deuteronomy, agreed with the present author, writing to her, "I became convinced that the painting of the west wall showing a man standing and keeping an open scroll depicts Moses reading or demonstrating the Law before the Israelites" (Weinfeld, personal communication, October 25, 1993). Since reading Deuteronomy to his people was the last act of Moses (Deut. 33, 34), the man in the last portrait panel (Wing Panel IV) should be Moses after his death, a view supported by the fact that the figure is shown with folded, covered hands and a covered head enclosed by a black nimbus and a sprinkling of stars.

The four portraits present a simple, compelling narrative: (1) at the Burning Bush, God reveals to Moses his mission to free the Israelites; (2) the Tablets of the Law, which he entrusts to Moses, are the founding rules for his people to live by; (3) the scroll containing these laws was copied by Moses; and (4) the people will carry the Law of Moses (Deut. 31:9–13; Weinfeld 1991:6–8) with them into the Promised Land under Joshua. Before taking that journey, however, they must listen as Deuteronomy is read to them by Moses, who is forbidden to go on and will instead go up the mountain to die.

The poignant farewell of Moses is not the only reason Deuteronomy held a special place in Judaism. This work sums up all the previous books of the Hebrew Bible. Aside from a brief history of the Israelites since fleeing Egypt and a reminder that God made that flight possible, it contains a series of warnings about mistakes made in the past and what needed to be done to ensure a safe and prosperous future. It was a stern reminder that for the Jews to remain a united people, they had to adhere to the Law that Moses brought them from God. These words were to be kept close to them always (Deut. 31:24–29). Not to be overlooked is the place given to Moses reading Deuteronomy in this room and on this wall: he stands just above the seat for the Speaker of the synagogue (Figure 8.2 and Plate 8.1b), who would read this centrally important document to the congregation. Even today, a visitor entering the central portal of the reconstructed synagogue in the Damascus National Museum is immediately drawn to this imposing portrait of Moses, the tallest and arguably the most finely executed figure on the west wall.

The Deuteronomic theme expressed in the four Moses portraits is elaborated in two pairs of panels in register B (Figure 8.3). Each pair contrasts a panel on one side of

the register with a panel in the corresponding position on the other side of the register. We begin with the contrast between the innermost panels on the viewer's right and left sides (WB2 versus WB3). Both panels are dominated by temple precincts, similar in form but quite dissimilar in content. On our left stands a precinct occupied by a completely open temple housing the Ark and honoring a priestly figure identified by a prominent Greek inscription as Aaron, the first High Priest of the Jews (Figure 8.3a). Outside the open temple stands a tall, lit menorah (the Light of the Law), while attendants bring animals for sacrifice. On our right, however, stands a precinct occupied by a completely closed temple marked only by pagan symbols, lacking signs of the law, the priesthood, or any signs of life and inaccessible behind a series of walls (Figure 8. 3b). The rewards of living well within the Mosaic (Deuteronomic) Law and the desolation of living without it are shown rhetorically.

A similar lesson is taught by the contrast between the outermost panels in register B, each flanking one of the temple scenes just described (WB1 versus WB4). In the panel on our left (Figure 8.3c), a tightly ordered circle of young Israelites stands in front of an open tent and faces a well. Within the circle stands a larger figure, a solemn barefoot man wearing a checkered robe who lowers a gnarled staff into the bubbling waters of the well. Streamers issue from the mouth of the well, each one flowing into one of the tent entrances. At the back of the field, set between the tents, a tall, lit menorah fills the entrance to a gabled structure resting on composite columns. The striped tent coverings may have been intentionally made to resemble Jewish prayer shawls. If so, what we see may be young Israelites brought formally into Judaism by a priestly figure under the Light of the Law represented by the menorah. In the panel on our right (Figure 8.3d), a very different scene is shown. The Israelites' Ark is being returned to the Jews, leaving behind the destructive results of its enforced presence among nonbelievers in the Philistine's temple to Dagon (Figure 8.3d). This pair of scenes contrasts social order living within the Mosaic Law with chaos caused when that law is disregarded.

So stark is the contrast between these last two panels that it is tempting to think the designer(s) of the Dura-Europos synagogue paintings appropriated a popular Greek metaphor for the legendary battle between the Gods representing order and the Giants representing chaos to highlight a present danger, as the Pergamenes did on their Altar of Zeus, still intact in the third century C.E. If so, the designer(s) evidently felt free to go beyond biblical and popular extra-biblical literature to illustrate the consequences of disregarding the Law as warned by Moses in Deuteronomy (5:32–33, 11:26–28, 30:11–20).

A final indication of the pervasive Deuteronomic theme in the west wall painting program is seen in the top and bottom registers (A and C). They show proud scenes in the lives of Jewish saviors, the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, emphasizing the important link between the past and the future and implicitly between what we do now and what we can expect in the future living within the

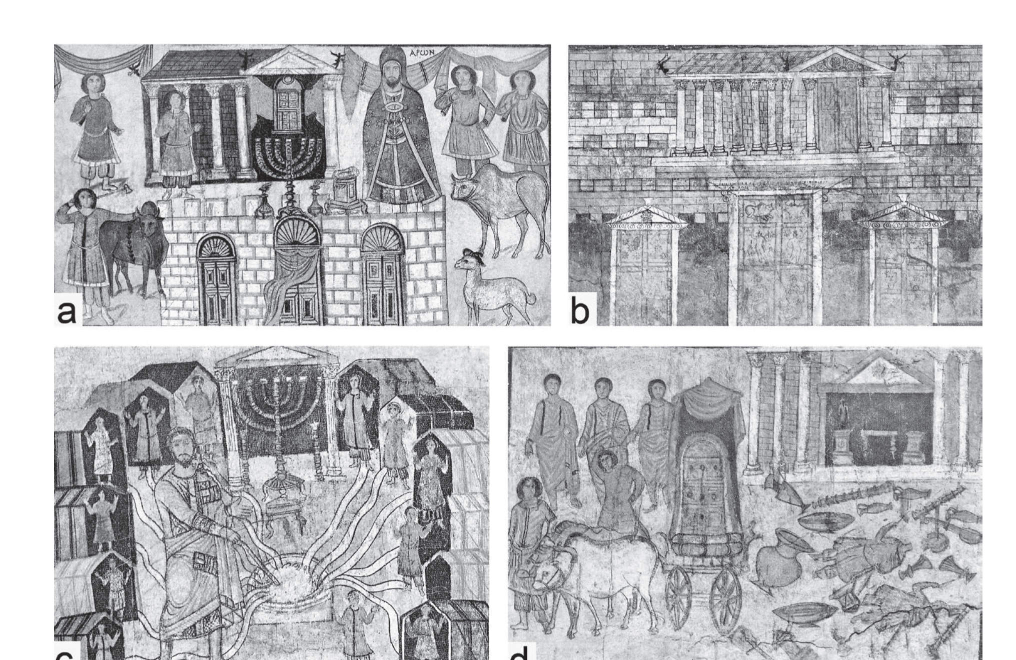


Figure 8.3. Deuteronomic lessons conveyed by contrasting scenes in corresponding panels on the viewer's left and right sides of Register B in the Dura-Europos synagogue based on the drawings of Herbert Gute: (a) An open temple precinct in WB2 honors Aaron, houses the Ark and a lit menorah (the Light of the Law), and is the center of abundant life. (b) In contrast, the closed temple precinct in WB3 shows no evidence of the Law. The precinct has only pagan symbols, is inaccessible behind many walls, and is devoid of life. (c) The closely organized young men representing the 12 tribes are shown in WB1 being brought into the tents of Israel under the guidance of a religious teacher, sometimes identified as Moses. (d) In contrast, destruction at the temple of the Philistines after they captured the Ark in WB4 shows the chaos that follows disregard for the Law. (Panels a through d are reproduced with permission from Kraeling 1956:plates LX, LVII, LIX, LVI).

Law. Moses is shown leading the Exodus from Egypt with God's help (WA3), which ultimately leads to Jerusalem and a wise King Solomon (WA2). Samuel is shown anointing David (WC3), who is made king and by whom Israel is assured the land on which the Temple will be built. Elijah is shown reviving the widow's child, again with God's help (WC1). The Jewish people in exile were saved from total destruction by a good deed done earlier by the Jew, Mordecai, when told to the Persian king by Mordecai's niece, Queen Esther.

Deuteronomy Challenged by Pauline Christianity

An iconographical analysis must be informed by its iconology, the context of the subject in time and space. Study of the Jewish–Christian competition at the time of the Dura-Europos synagogue paintings reveals a likely reason for Syrian Jews to promote Deuteronomy in the mid-third century. For at least a century before that, Jewish communities had been threatened by growing efforts of certain Christians to undermine Deuteronomic Law. Beginning with Paul, the

Christians claimed that Law invalid since it was in the words of Moses, not those of God, and required worship in the Temple, which was no longer possible for Jews (Scott 1993). Converts to Christianity were difficult to enlist in strong Jewish centers like Palestine, but in the diaspora, Judaism's hold on its members was unsteady. Tensions were nevertheless raised there, because some Jewish converts to Christianity hesitated to break entirely with the Law of Moses. In the Dura-Europos synagogue, the struggle for the Law had been made visible through art and audible through sermons. The rabbis made a vigorous response to these attacks on the Law of Moses, and where better to broadcast that than in synagogues. Deuteronomy linked to Moses became a call to arms (Marmorstein 1935:222–263). Further study of the cultural context in which the Dura-Europos synagogue paintings were created reveals a newly identified influence on the designer(s), as explained below.

The Synagogue Paintings and Second Sophistic Rhetoric

While most of the synagogue scenes reveal their biblical sources, several sharp divergences from the text alert us to reinterpretation of those sources using extra-biblical material meant to create a bridge between Scripture, which could not be changed, and lives, which constantly experience change. Such an adaptive method of explanation was well-known to the Jews, as it was to the Greeks and Romans. The style of the Dura-Europos synagogue paintings might seem undeveloped, but the narrative development of the scenes, the way in which they relate to each other for comparison or contrast, announces the presence of minds educated in modes of interpretation current in the wider Hellenistic world.

Of all the currents of influence flowing into the Greco-Roman city of Dura-Europos, one that has been given little if any consideration is that of the Greek renaissance active since the second century C.E. and perhaps earlier. It was spearheaded by orators known as the Second Sophistics (Whitmarsh 2005:3–5), distantly related to fifth- to fourth-century B.C.E. sophists originating in Athens. They circulated among cities in the eastern Mediterranean, usually in Greek culture areas. Central to their rhetorical efforts was a call for a return to traditional classical values (Bowersock 1969:16–29; Bowie 1970:3–10). In the third century C.E., post-Temple Judaism shared similar aspirations. Both the Greeks and the Jews, having been alienated from their proud origins by the intrusion of Roman rule, believed that by actively recalling an idealized past, they could revive and secure a precious identity (Marmorstein 1935:259–263). These traveling orators visited cities with well-established Jewish communities such as Antioch-on-the-Orontes (capital of Roman Syria), Edessa and Nisibis in northern Syria, and the Palestinian cities of Caesaria and Tiberias, seat of the Jewish government in exile (Geiger 1994:221–225). In all these places, it was known that Jews flocked to theaters featuring these speakers (Geiger 1994:221–230), who declaimed on Greece's heroic past, a favorite topic, and famous acts and speeches of Greek heroes. Key to their performances was dedication to refined

speech and mastery of persuasive argument called rhetoric. Rhetoric was naturally essential for all people ambitious to wield social power, whether in government or trade (Goldhill 2009:228–233). Jews had been engaged in such endeavors among the Greeks since the latter colonized the Mediterranean world and readily became Hellenized, from Temple personnel to tradesmen.

In the third century, when the heart of their religious faith was threatened, the Jews in the diaspora were well equipped to respond; like the Greeks, they drew upon education, using their knowledge of rhetoric to write and speak persuasively in favor of their proud origins, pointing to their heroes to prove themselves as good as their conquerers. Rhetoric became a performance art when orators moved into theaters and halls; fortunes were made by the more successful ones (Whitmarsh 2005:23–34). If we look more closely at the west wall of the Dura-Europos synagogue, signs of the theater are unmistakable on the dado featuring theater masks (Plate 8.1c-d). The stylized vine/ribbon design suggesting a Dionysiac motif separating the panels was probably carried by the painters in their pattern books, in this case from Antioch (Levi 1947), a city with many synagogues as well as theaters featuring traveling orators. Moreover, as noted earlier, more than a few panels in the Dura-Europos synagogue depict Jewish heroes in dramas with multiple scenes in the same panel (for example, Pharaoh and the infancy of Moses [WC4], the Exodus and crossing of the Red Sea [WA3], and Mordecai and Esther [WC2]).

The potential relevance of Second Sophistic rhetoric to the Dura-Europos synagogue becomes clear when it is recognized that such a building served not only as a site for religious services but also as a school. In the great struggle over Deuteronomy, we may expect that there was a premium on teaching the young and on reminding older members of the congregation the value of their history, its heroes, and, most importantly, the Law of Moses. The synagogue elders, having grown up as Hellenized Jews, would have known the art of rhetoric. In Dura-Europos, they took the next step and worked with graphic artists, who had learned how to make rhetoric visible—that is, to turn static pictures into persuasive arguments (Anderson 1993:144–155). The use of contrasting scenes on the middle register of the west wall in the Dura-Europos synagogue to teach Deuteronomic lessons is one example of rhetoric made visible. Another is the depiction of the scroll reader, which more than one observer has noted was done with special care and shows a conspicuous container suitable for scrolls. Kraeling chose to compare this portrait to the Lateran Sophocles (Plate 8.2b), the fifth-century B.C.E. Greek playwright. The comparison suggests a motivation by the designer(s) and artist to emphasize that the subject was an author of stature and antiquity, qualities prized by Second Sophistics. There is reason to believe, then, that the scroll reader, with his commanding presence, classical attire, and signifying scroll, was indeed modeled on a type of classical author, as were the evangelists later on (Friend 1927:131–132). The scroll reader in the

Dura-Europos synagogue might thus be seen as an author surrounded by pictorial references to his work, intended as guides for survival in a dangerous world. If these illuminated "words" communicated their critically important message, we can adduce the presence of a learned advisor in the art of making rhetoric visible and of his talented painter(s) who could carry out this new kind of assignment, new, that is, for Jews at this time in history.

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Note

1 This work is an extension of the author's doctoral dissertation in art history at UCLA (Talbot 1997) under the mentorship of Dr. Susan B. Downey.

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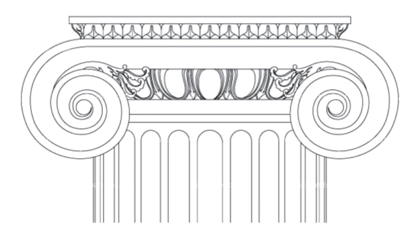
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CHAPTER NINE



The Religious Iconography of Roman Cameo Glass[1]

Karol B. Wight

Cameo glass is among the finest of Roman luxury wares to have survived the past two millennia. What qualifies it to hold this rank is its complex method of manufacture, the limited quantities that were produced in antiquity, and the fineness of its decoration. Fragments make up the majority of cameo glass that has survived, but there are complete or nearly complete vessels as well. These vessels range from drinking cups to pitchers to plaques to perfume bottles. Each of these objects is decorated with unique imagery, although there are thematic commonalities to be found among the scenes preserved. Many of the scenes relate to Bacchus, Roman god of wine, and depict religious ritual. This paper explores the corpus of surviving vessels to examine their iconography and to determine whether there is a relationship between the function of a vessel and its iconography. A further avenue of inquiry, for whom these luxury wares were produced, is also explored.

The Technique

Roman cameo glass is created by layering two or more glasses of contrasting color over one another other and forming the layered glass into the desired shape. After the shape has been formed, it is slowly cooled (annealed) and then is handed off to an expert in carving and cutting techniques, who cuts away the layered glass to create scenes in relief. To date, we know of no artist ever signing a Roman cameo glass vessel, but given the skill necessary to complete works like the Portland Vase,[2] the cameo glass carvers were among the best of the engravers and cutters working in ancient Rome. While the Portland Vase

epitomizes the finest in cameo carved glass, there are vessels whose carving is less refined, suggesting that numerous hands were at work in the final steps of cameo glass production.

By the time the manufacture of cameo glass commenced, currently accepted to have been around 25 B.C.E., ancient glassmakers were able to heat glass enough to achieve the viscous state necessary to inflate it. Inflating glass on a hollow tube, a process today called glassblowing, began to be developed in the environs of Jerusalem around 50 B.C.E. It is remarkable that not too long after the development of glassblowing, such achievements as cameo glass were possible. Exactly how the layered glass objects were created is still open to debate; it is likely that some were made by inflation and others by casting. Modern glassmakers, archaeologists, and art historians have spent countless hours examining the small number of ancient survivors to find evidence preserved in the glass itself that might elucidate the process.[3] Evidence in the form of elongated bubbles, vessel wall thickness, and grinding marks is very telling. It is believed that closed vessels like the Portland Vase, the Auldjo Jug,[4] and the small perfume container in the J. Paul Getty Museum (JPGM 85.AF.84) were manufactured by forming uncut cameo blanks through inflation. For flat objects or open vessels, like the two plaques from Pompeii[5] and the Getty Museum's *skyphos* (JPGM 84.AF.85), a casting process was more likely used to make the blanks. Casting glass in open and closed molds was a manufacturing technique that began in the earliest phases of glassmaking in Mesopotamia in the mid-second millennium B.C.E. By the Hellenistic period, larger and more complicated works were regularly made through casting techniques.[6]

Place of Manufacture

Where cameo glass was made, and in what quantities, has been the focus of recent study (Roberts et al. 2010). In the past it was assumed that the glass could have been manufactured in numerous places and that some of it was made in Alexandria, not through any evidence of archaeology but because this city was seen as the source for many of the finest luxury wares of the early imperial period. The more recent work by Roberts et al. (2010:11–12) strongly suggests that instead, it was made in Rome. The authors base this conclusion on the known find spots of cameo vessels, plaques, and fragments, now in numerous public and private collections, that were either collected or found in Rome itself or were excavated in Campania in structures buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 C.E. This theory of cameo glass manufacture in Rome is also born out by the iconography on one vessel, the Getty's perfume flask. It was previously thought to have been made in Alexandria due to the Egyptianizing elements of its iconography, but a more thorough study of the imagery has demonstrated that the possible sources of the Egyptian elements—obelisks; sculptures of the god Thoth—were resident in Rome itself in the first century B.C.E. (Wight and Swetnam-Burland 2010).

The Iconography

The iconography of Roman cameo glass vessels is diverse, with the identifiable imagery falling into several categories. Some of these iconographic groups are impossible to define, as there are very few complete or nearly complete vessels that survive. Instead, there are a number of fragments with only bits of floral decoration, or parts of human or animal figures, with no real clue as to what the entire scene on the vessel or plaque may have been. Many of those with discernible iconography tend to relate to Bacchus (in the form of wine-related imagery) and to ritual. A few of these, like the Getty *skyphos* and the two panels from Pompeii, are clearly related to rituals associated with Bacchus, since the god is present, while others (such as the Morgan Cup in the Corning Museum of Glass[7] and the Getty perfume bottle) relate to other deities. The settings for these religious rituals are rural sanctuaries, as indicated by the presence of mature trees, often with draperies tied to their limbs. There is a difference, however, between scenes that clearly illustrate ritual activity and scenes in which religious figures or mythological images are depicted. The Portland Vase, for example, would fall into the latter group, since its iconography remains unclear. It is certainly arguable that this scene takes place within a sanctuary setting, and there are symbolic elements that suggest ritual, such as the downturned torch held by the reclining (sleeping?) female on the back side of the vessel. But the motions and activities of all the figures depicted on the vase are not ritualistic—there is no activity suggesting sacrifice or offering. The question to be asked here is: Is there a relationship between the iconography of religious ritual and the function of the vessel upon which it is carved? Or are these religious scenes simply part of a larger vocabulary of Roman decorative arts during the Julio-Claudian period? A survey of the scenes, the shapes, and their functions may provide an answer to these questions.

To begin, a listing of the complete or nearly complete cameo works with identifiable scenes of religious ritual is necessary. They are:

The Morgan Cup (CMoG 52.1.93)

The cup is hemispherical, with a carved scene that encircles the body of the vessel. The underside is decorated with a rosette. The continuous scene starts with a saddled donkey tied to a pine tree; a canopy of drapery is tied to one branch (Plate 9.1). The other end of the drapery is being attached to a column by a young satyr (Figure 9.1). Below the canopy kneels a young female attendant, who lifts a cloth from a straight-sided casket (likely a *liknon* or *cista mystica*). Behind the satyr is a large, handleless krater. Next is another female attendant, this one standing and carrying a jug in her lowered right hand, with a woven tray of pinecones, apples, and three-cornered cakes next to her left shoulder (Figure 9.2). She looks back over her shoulder at the figures behind her. In front of her is a fully draped pregnant woman with her head covered (Figure 9.3). She stands with her right arm raised and extended in prayer; her left hand holds an upright, lit torch. Before her is an



Figure 9.1. Morgan Cup: canopy of drapery being attached to a column by a young satyr. Roman Empire, first half of the first century C.E. Opaque white over translucent deep blue glass; blown and cased, carved, ground, and polished. Height 6.2 cm; diameter 7.6 cm. (Courtesy the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York; gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr.; 52.1.93)



Figure 9.2. Morgan Cup: female attendant standing and carrying a jug and a woven tray of offerings. Roman Empire, first half of the first century C.E. Opaque white over translucent deep blue glass; blown and cased, carved, ground, and polished. Height 6.2 cm; Diameter 7.6 cm. (Courtesy the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York; gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr.; 52.1.93)



Figure 9.3. Morgan Cup: draped pregnant woman with a covered head who prays before an offering table, next to which is a herm of Silenus atop a short column. Roman Empire, first half of the first century C.E. Opaque white over translucent deep blue glass; blown and cased, carved, ground, and polished. Height 6.2 cm; diameter 7.6 cm. (Courtesy Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr.; 52.1.93)

offering table, whose contents include an altar-shaped incense burner with a burning pinecone and three fruits. Finally, next to the offering table, is a herm of Silenus atop a short column. The god is shown naked and armless, with erect phallus. A garland has been draped around the column upon which the figure of the god stands.

The scene contains both human and mythical creatures (the satyr) and an image of sacrifice by the pregnant woman. The deity to whom she prays is Silenus, the tutor of Bacchus, identifiable by his bald head and pointed ears. Thus, while this scene is not one of Bacchic worship or revelry, it is still associated with the god of wine due to the relationship between Silenus and Bacchus.

This small cup functions as a drinking vessel, presumably for wine.

The Getty *Skyphos* (JPGM 84.AF.85)

This two-handled drinking cup is decorated with two separate but related scenes, carved on each side; the handles serve as the elements that separate the two scenes. On the front side, three figures are represented in a woodland setting; two trees flank the scene (Plate 9.2). At the left, a half-draped woman leans against a handleless krater, holding a hemispherical bowl to her lips as she drinks. In front of her is a nude satyr playing a lyre; he looks back toward the drinking woman. At the right is a seated, androgynous figure holding a small, hemispherical cup in his left

hand as he adds incense to a flaming altar next to his right knee. Behind him is a tall pillar, atop which is a small statue of Cybele seated on her throne. On the back side of the cup is another woodland scene, again framed by trees (Plate 9.3). At the left is a nude satyr holding a syrinx and *pedum*. In the center is a half-draped female figure sitting atop a rocky outcrop, with her right hand resting atop her head in a pose of sleep. Behind her is another half-draped female figure, who extends a draped basket (the *liknon*) toward the seated figure.

I have interpreted these scenes as related to Ariadne and Dionysos (Wight 2001). In the first, the seated Dionysos makes an offering to his protectress, the goddess Cybele, while Ariadne watches and drinks from a bowl, in the company of a lyre-playing satyr. On the opposite side, Ariadne sits, awaiting the unveiling of the *liknon* by the female attendant behind her, while another satyr observes.

The *skyphos* functions as a wine cup. Interestingly, Dionysos holds a small hemispherical cup not unlike the Morgan Cup.

Bottle Found at Torrita di Siena, Tuscany (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, inv. no. 70811)

The bottle is decorated in a continuous scene with eight figures and objects. A short column is topped by either a herm carved as the head of a bald man or a theater mask. Positioned behind the head is an upright *pedum,* around which is tied a garland. Next, the partially preserved figure of a beardless, wreathed youth plays the *aulos,* and a draped female figure stands before a tree, to which a garland is tied. In her right hand she holds something before her (a branch? the vessel is broken here), while in her left she holds a *kantharos*. Before her is a nude, chubby male child, whose head is concealed beneath an animal skin. Resting atop his head is a woven tray covered in drapery. Behind him is a round table holding a tripod-legged altar with a burning pinecone. It stands before a garlanded herm of Silenus. The figure of the god is bearded and bald. He wears a cloak, which he lifts with his left hand to reveal an erect phallus. In his right hand he holds a thyrsus. Behind him is a pine tree.

The size and shape of the bottle, with its narrow neck and pointed toe, identify its use as a perfume flask.

The imagery is related to the Morgan Cup in that the scene of sacrifice and ritual takes place before a herm of Silenus. It has been suggested that the child is the young Bacchus, since his head is covered with an animal skin (*nebris*).

Jug from Besançon (Musée des Beaux Arts, Besançon, inv. no. 886, I-I)

Preserved is a fragmentary one-handled jug with a continuous scene. The handle base provides the starting and ending point for the narrative. To the right of the handle, a tree indicates the outdoor setting. In front of it is a nude satyr with a short tail, who stands with his legs slightly bent and apart. His right arm is raised over his head, and he drinks from a hemispherical bowl held in his left hand. He is, perhaps, dancing. In front of him is a small (young?)

satyr, who stands on tiptoe with his arms upraised and held toward the mature satyr. Behind the young satyr is a herm of the god Silenus atop a column. The god is draped, and with his right hand he pulls his drapery into a bunch around the waist to reveal his erect phallus. He holds a thyrsus against his shoulder with his left hand. The next part of the scene is fragmentary. It seems to depict a taller column with a draped figure (perhaps a female wearing a peplos?) atop it. Next to the tall pillar is another draped figure, who holds a downturned, flaming torch to the ground in front of it. Behind this figure is a tree, with a tripod-legged table before it holding a two-handled cup, a bucket-shaped vessel, and a hemispherical cup. Next is the partially preserved figure of a satyr, who holds before him a lyre.

The jug was presumably used to hold and pour wine.

The scene, as with the Morgan Cup and the bottle from Torrita di Siena, takes place at a sanctuary for Silenus. The participants in the activities appear to be satyrs and a female figure, perhaps a maenad. Like the pregnant woman on the Morgan Cup, she holds a flaming torch. What is different from the Morgan Cup is the presence of another column topped by the figure of a god or goddess.

Getty Bottle (JPGM 85.AF.84)

This small perfume bottle is decorated on the body with a continuous scene. On the bottom is a rosette. A tree is used to denote the start of the figural scene. An Eros holding a garland walks toward the figure of the Egyptian god Thoth, represented as a seated baboon (Plate 9.4). Beyond the figure of the god stands another Eros, this one wearing a short, flaring cloak. He holds a branch toward a flaming altar, upon which is carved a uraeus, the sacred Egyptian symbol of the upright cobra (Plate 9.5). Behind the flaming altar is the figure of a striding pharaoh. Behind the pharaoh is an obelisk carved with hieroglyphs.

Like the bottle from Torrita di Siena, this small flask was meant to hold perfume.

The imagery carved on this bottle is unlike any of the other scenes of religious ritual on cameo glass. The rites are enacted by erotes and relate to Egyptian gods. Swetnam-Burland and I argued that these Egyptian elements—the figure of the god Thoth, the obelisk, the figure of a striding pharaoh—could have been seen by an artist living and working in Rome (Wight and Swetnam-Burland 2010).

Two Panels from Pompeii (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. nos. 153652 and 153651)

As the panels were discovered in the same archaeological context, the House of Fabius Rufus, they must be a pair. One depicts the discovery of Ariadne by Dionysos on the island of Naxos (Plate 5.2). Within a rectangular format, Ariadne reclines at the right atop a rocky outcrop. Behind her is a small architectural edifice composed of two columns, linked by an entablature. In front of her is a flying Eros holding a small, flaming torch. In the center, gesturing toward the sleeping woman, is the figure of a satyr holding a *pedum*. He looks back toward the figure of another flying Eros, this one carrying a drinking

horn in his right hand and balancing a woven box on his head. Behind him is the wreathed god Dionysos, standing half-draped, leaning on a half column. The god holds a thyrsus in his left hand and a short branch in his right. Like the figure on the Getty *skyphos,* the physique of the god is androgynous. Other elements in the scene are a small krater near the feet of the god and a tambourine below the reclining figure of Ariadne.

The second panel (Plate 5.3) shows Ariadne sitting on a round or square seat. A tambourine is propped below her. She reaches back, holding out a small two-handled *kantharos* to a dancing maenad, who fills it from a small jug in her right hand. A krater sits on the ground between them. The maenad whirls in dance, her tambourine held over her head. Below the upper body of Ariadne, a small goat looks up. In the tree above her, a small Eros is hanging a canopy in the branches. To the left is the dancing figure of Silenus, who holds a two-handled, footless *skyphos* and has drapery around his neck and shoulders. Behind him, in the corner of the scene, is a woven *cista mystica*. Its lid is ajar to reveal the snake contained within. Other elements suspended from the branches of the tree are a syrinx and an animal skin pouch with a *pedum*.

The function of these rectangular plaques is not known with any certainty. It seems most likely that they were inset into the walls of a room, much as smaller scenes are inset into larger frescoed compositions. Their related iconography of the discovery of Ariadne, and what may be her initiation into the Dionysiac rites, is very clear. Whether this second scene is one of ritual or one of Dionysiac revel is ambiguous. What is not present in this rural sanctuary is an image of another god, such as Silenus. But an element that points to a scene of ritual is the *cista mystica* and the emerging snake.

Religious Iconography and Function

Beyond this group of six complete or nearly complete cameo objects, there are fragments of cameo objects that seem to show scenes of ritual. What is unclear, however, is to whom the ritual is dedicated, or by whom the ritual is conducted. For the purposes of this article, they are not included due to their fragmentary nature.

With the exception of the Getty perfume flask, the iconography preserved on the listed objects is associated, directly or indirectly, with Bacchus. On three of the vessels, the deity to whom the sacrifice is made is Silenus, thus referencing fertility. On the others, it is clearly Bacchus who is depicted or referenced. In all cases, mythic creatures are shown; they include satyrs, erotes, maenads,[8] and gods. (Here I identify Ariadne, the consort of Bacchus, as a divine being.) But it is only in the instance of the Morgan Cup that a clearly nonmythic figure is represented, namely the pregnant woman who makes the sacrifice to the herm of Silenus. The shape of the Morgan Cup does not offer any suggestion as to why a human appears among mythic creatures; it is a drinking cup like the Getty *skyphos* and is also related to the wine service like the Besançon jug. It is tantalizing to think that perhaps the Morgan Cup was a specific commission

meant to encourage or commemorate the successful outcome of a pregnancy. If this was a private commission, what does this suggest about the other cameo objects? Were they all made to order for a clientele that worshipped Silenus or Bacchus? If so, then it seems even more likely that iconography and function are closely linked.

In many cases, the cameo vessel shapes relate to the worship of Bacchus through the consumption of wine; they are drinking cups or pitchers. This relationship of function and image is true whether they have iconography specifically referencing religious ritual or are merely referencing Bacchic themes. The larger group of complete or nearly complete vessels that contain Bacchic references through their iconography (but not specific scenes of ritual) includes the so-called Blue Vase in Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. no. 13521), an amphora whose imagery shows erotes harvesting grapes (stomping them to make wine and enjoying the lyre playing of one of their companions); the Auldjo Jug in the British Museum, a trefoil *oinochoe* with decoration of twining grape leaves and bunches of grapes; and a *patera* in Naples with an image of the frontal face of Silenus or a satyr surrounded by grapevines (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, inv. no. 13688). Beyond the vessels, the so-called Carpegna cameo (Musée du Louvre, inv. no. BJ 1779) depicts Ariadne and Dionysos reclining on a rocky outcrop in the company of satyrs and a panther.

Not all wine-related vessels depict Bacchic imagery, however. One complete cameo glass *skyphos,* for example, depicts erotes driving chariots, and there are fragments of others with similar imagery, so it is clear that there were different tastes on the part of the purchasers/commissioners of cameo glass.[9]

After vessels related to drinking or serving wine, the other predominant vessel shape among cameos is the small perfume bottle, frequently made with a long, narrow neck and a pointed base. This is a shape normally associated with women. In reviewing the complete list of surviving examples, there is, once again, a predominance of flasks whose images relate to Bacchic worship. The exceptions are the Seasons Vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale (BnF Camée.623), which shows the personifications of three of the four seasons; the Getty flask with erotes sacrificing to Egyptian deities; and a flask in the George Ortiz collection showing a couple making love. Do the perfume flasks relate to the worship of Bacchus? Certainly, anointment was a part of religious practice in antiquity. It seems clear that the iconography on the cameo vessels discussed here is associated with the worship of Silenus and expresses a desire for fertility. Certainly, that desire relates to fecundity in marriage as well as to the worship of Bacchus.

This brief survey of cameo glass shows a preponderance of images related to Bacchus and the rituals involved in the worship of the god or his associates. The function of these vessels can also be associated with this worship through their relationship to the drinking or serving of wine, or as containers for precious perfumed oils used to anoint the body, perhaps as part of

religious ritual. What remains unexplored is how many of these vessels or objects may have been specific commissions, with the imagery dictated by the buyer (such as, perhaps, the Morgan Cup), and how many were made in the workshop with no specific client in mind but a ready market for their sale as luxury objects. Can a specific clientele for cameo glass with Bacchic imagery be identified? Very few of the survivors have come from archaeological contexts, and those that do cannot be associated with any particular individual. We do not know the identities of those who owned these objects in the past. So what resources are available to identify who they might have been?

Paul Zanker (1998:44–65) has argued persuasively about the iconographic use of deities by Roman political entities to reinforce their positions in politics and society. In the rivalry between Octavian and Marc Antony, Octavian chose to represent himself as Apollo, while Marc Antony chose Dionysos. Ancient literary sources are full of references to Antony as Dionysos, in union with Cleopatra in Alexandria as the leaders of a sacred *thiasos*. Susan Walker (2004:47–61) has even identified the scenes on the Portland Vase as related to the personal and political conflict between Octavian and Antony, arguing that the seduction of Antony by Cleopatra is shown on one side, while the despair of the abandoned Octavia, consoled by her brother Octavian, is shown on the other. While I do not support her interpretation of the iconography of the Portland Vase, it does posit an interesting relationship between the life of Marc Antony, the Roman Dionysos, and the cameo vessels that celebrate the god through their imagery and function. Perhaps the cameos were owned by those who supported Antony's cause, their support quietly evinced through their iconographic reference to the god with whom Antony so closely identified himself. It is clear that carved and engraved layered hard stones were used to convey political meaning through allegorical imagery during the end of the republic and into the imperial period. The Gemma Augustea and the Grand Camée de France are among the finest examples of large-format hard-stone gems carved for this purpose. An alternative material to the more precious stone was cameo glass, designed to be decorated in a similar manner through cutting and engraving. Cameo glass objects were produced exactly during this period, and perhaps some were created for the same reason, to convey meaning and to signal political alliances through their imagery. The relationship of cameo glass to the politics of Rome is an ongoing study, one that began with Walker's discussion of the iconography of the Portland Vase. It is hoped that with further examples of this material discovered through excavation, we will have more of the context needed to better understand the role that cameo glass played in antiquity. For now, we are left with an understanding that the imagery and function of some of the cameo glasses are related to the worship of Bacchus. But whether this imagery also indicates political allegiance to Marc Antony remains to be seen.

Notes

1 Dr. Susan Downey has long been a source of inspiration to her many students at the University of California–Los Angeles. When I entered the program in 1981, she welcomed me warmly, and she spent the next 10 years teaching me about the art and archaeology of the ancient Mediterranean world. My thanks go out to her for her decades-long support and for her encouragement when I determined to study a small, discrete portion of the material remains of antiquity, namely Roman glass. Her willingness to allow me to pursue a dissertation on this topic has led me to where I am today, president and executive director of the Corning Museum of Glass.

2 British Museum, inv. no. GR 1945.9-27.1.

3 Still one of the best resources on this topic is Volume 32 of the *Journal of Glass Studies* (Corning Museum of Glass, 1990), a volume dedicated to the study of the Portland Vase and cataloging all other complete or nearly complete examples of cameo glass known at the time.

4 British Museum, GR 1859-0216.1; 1840, 1205.41, found at Pompeii between 1830 and 1832, perhaps in or near the House of the Faun.

5 Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 153652 and 153651, found in the House of Fabius Rufus in 1960.

6 Both simple and complicated vessel forms were achieved through casting. See, for example, the group of cast vessels found in Canosa and now in the British Museum, such as the gold sandwich glass and mosaic bowls, GR 1871.5-18.2 and 1871.5-18.3, respectively, and the large amphora in the Antikensammlung, Berlin, inv. no. 30219,254.

7 CMoG 52.1.93.

8 It is assumed that the draped female figures present in many of the scenes are maenads and not simply mortals engaged in ritual activity.

9 Now in a private collection; current whereabouts unknown. The large cameo glass amphora, formerly at Bonhams in London, is deliberately excluded from this discussion until it receives full and thorough study.

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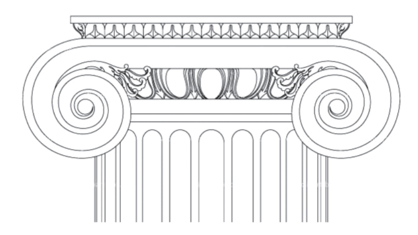
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CHAPTER TEN



The Hellenistic Sculptural Program of the Sarapieion at Saqqara and the Ptolemaic Crown

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In the turbulent and transformative decades following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C.E., a sophisticated visual program was introduced by the recently installed Ptolemaic monarchy to an indigenous sanctuary situated within the royal necropolis of Saqqara, just west of the traditional Egyptian capital of Memphis.[1] Known as the House of Osiris since time immemorial (Ray 1976:147, 152–153, figures 3–4) and known as the Sarapieion beginning during the Hellenistic period, this sacred precinct was long dedicated to the burial and mortuary cult of the Apis bull, the incarnation of the local creator god, Ptah, who numinously coalesced in death with the Egyptian lord of the Underworld, Osiris.[2] Here, traditional Egyptian architecture and sculpture, designed to support long-standing native ritual, were juxtaposed with a new, distinctly Hellenistic sculptural program designed to promote the nascent Macedonian dynasty and to translate esoteric Egyptian ideology into iconographic terms accessible to Greek viewers. This visual synthesis of old and new provided an iconic setting, a revelatory *skene*, for the performance of rites pertaining to the cult of the resurrected Apis, which was intended to encourage loyalty to the Ptolemaic crown and to facilitate parallel worship by the ethnically and culturally heterogeneous population of Ptolemaic Egypt, unifying them in patriotism and mutual religious zeal and thereby encouraging social harmony.

The Apis bull was believed to be, during his lifetime, the unique embodiment of

Ptah, whose worship centered at Memphis, a site of significant and enduring political import even after relocation of the capital to Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (305–284 B.C.E.). From the earliest periods of Egyptian history, the Apis was closely associated with the Egyptian king, for the bull exemplified the virility and reproductive power vital to the office of pharaoh. The life of the Apis was a sequence of extraordinary events permeated by ritual significance—from his miraculous conception and fortuitous discovery to his coronation at Memphis and reputed prophetic revelations. His death, like that of the pharaoh, was an occasion of great consequence, inaugurating an elaborate series of ceremonies performed to achieve his apotheosis and culminating in his entombment within the Sarapieion.

The primary path leading to the Sarapieion was the so-called Sarapieion Way, also known as the Sphinx Allée, which led westward across the desert bluff to the eastern end of the complex (Figure 10.1). This route was aptly designed and situated to accommodate the heavy foot traffic associated with the elaborate funerary procession of the deceased Apis from his residence in the precinct of Ptah in the east to his sepulcher within the Sarapieion in the west.[3] Some 370 Egyptian sphinxes—male and wearing royal headdresses—were stationed at regular intervals along this 1,120-m desert corridor, like sentries safeguarding the path of the bull and his followers against the malevolent powers of chaos. But the sphinxes likewise delineated the physical site of transition from the profane to the sacred and therefore contributed to the complex set of rituals that prepared the Osirified Apis to enter his tomb. Any member of the funerary cortege would likewise cross from the land of the living to that of the dead by means of this guarded pathway, similarly benefiting from the metaphysical security provided and the meditative ambience created by the monotonous, rhythmic repetition of these static sentinels against the ominous backdrop of the expansive desert.

Having undergone the complex, 70-day ritual procedure of mummification within the precinct of Ptah, the preserved corpse of the bull was transported westward along the Sarapieion Way toward his final resting place in the company of a retinue of priests and devotees toward his final resting place. Together, they entered the Sarapieion from the northeast, at the point where the sphinx-lined road intersected the *dromos*, the compound's 86-m, east–west artery. Bounded to the north and south by low, thick walls of dressed stone known as *mastabas,* designed to protect the enclosure against encroaching sandstorms (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.32), the *dromos* functioned as the main processional pathway within the Sarapieion. It connected the Temple of Osiris-Apis constructed by Nectanebo II (c. 360–343 B.C.E.), the easternmost structural component of the complex, to another Temple of Osiris-Apis located to the west, this one erected by Nectanebo I (380–362 B.C.E.) directly over the subterranean crypt of the bulls. A single-chambered Egyptian chapel, likely dating to Dynasty 30 (c. 380–343 BCE), stood along the northern border of the *dromos*, and to the immediate west of this structure, likewise interrupting the

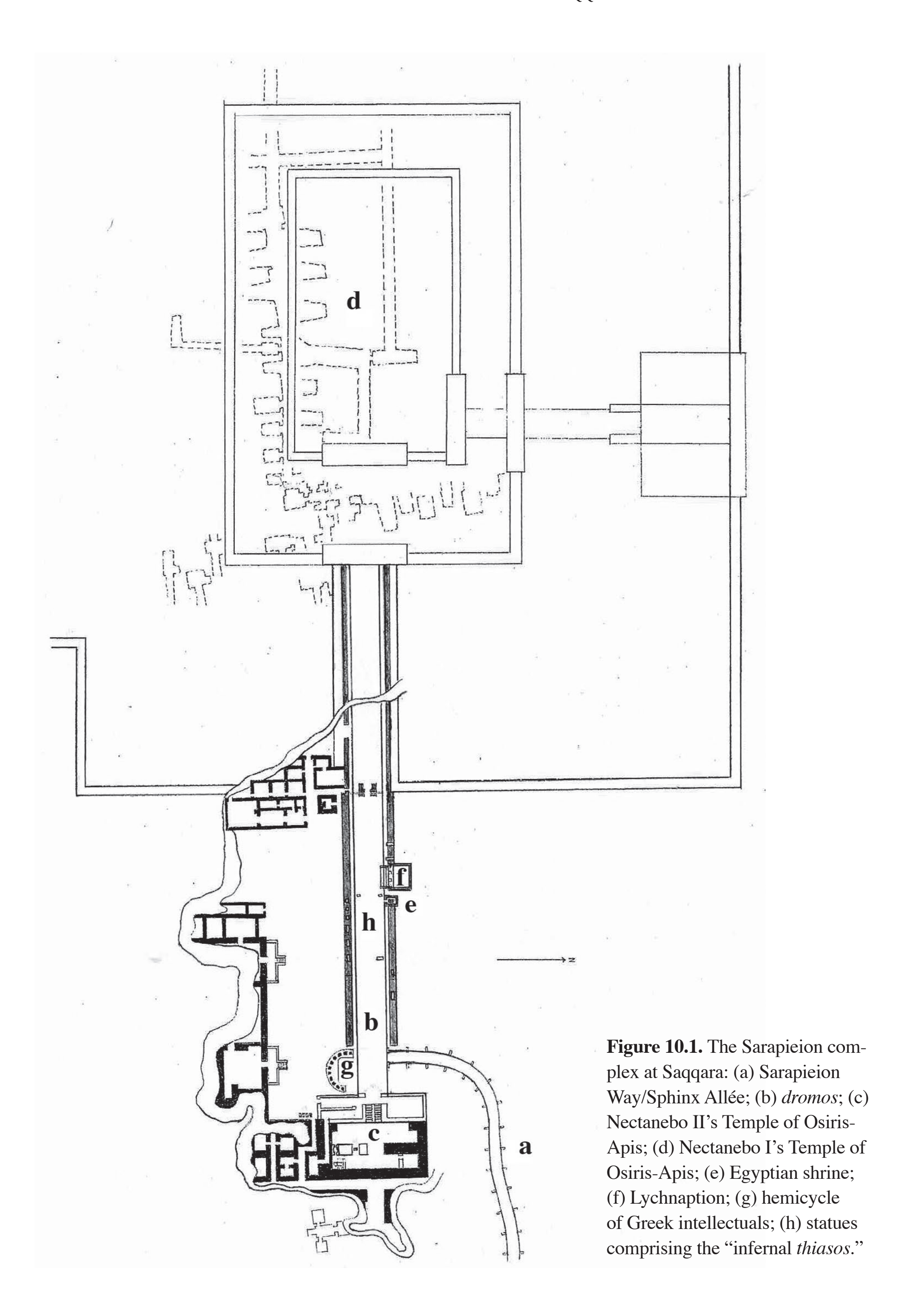


Figure 10.1. The Sarapieion complex at Saqqara: (a) Sarapieion Way/Sphinx Allée; (b) *dromos*; (c) Nectanebo II's Temple of Osiris-Apis; (d) Nectanebo I's Temple of Osiris-Apis; (e) Egyptian shrine; (f) Lychnaption; (g) hemicycle of Greek intellectuals; (h) statues comprising the "infernal *thiasos*."

northern *mastaba*, a Greek *prostyle* shrine, known by inscription as the Lychnaption, was built during the early Ptolemaic period, probably during the reign of Ptolemy I.[4] The statuary that comprised the Hellenistic sculptural program was positioned within this architectural framework in two distinct groupings. At the eastern end of the complex, 11 effigies representing Greek intellectuals were arranged in a hemicycle opposite the intersection of the Sarapieion Way and the *dromos*. To the west, along the *mastabas* lining the *dromos* as it approached the enclosure wall surrounding the tomb of the bulls, stood 10 depictions of real and fantastical creatures unified by their shared infernal and Dionysian connotations.



Figure 10.2. Homer; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.82 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 2a)

Upon crossing the threshold into the Sarapieion from the Sarapieion Way, participants in the deceased bull's cortege were immediately confronted by a series of Greek poets and philosophers arranged within an *exedra* on the south side of the *dromos*. Together, this assemblage of virtuoso thinkers served to establish a conspicuously Greek presence at the site, to typify the Greek culture and identity embraced by the Ptolemies, and to reinforce the sculptural program's overall aim to make alien religious practices accessible to the Greek immigrant population. The effigy at the center of this superlative troupe appears to be the seminal bard Homer, the legendary, essentially deified figure credited with authorship of the epic poems against which all subsequent Greek literature would be measured: the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Figure 10.2). Enthroned at the center, he effectively presided over this assembly, with five illustrious poets on his left and five equally eminent sages on his right. The identity of the effigy to his immediate left (west), already severely eroded by the time of the initial excavation by Auguste Mariette in the 1850s, is elusive, though the similarity of his pose to known representations of Dionysos (Lauer and Picard 1955:109 note 1; Picard 1944–1945:figures 3 and 4) may recommend his identification as a playwright, a servant to the god in his role as the patron of theater (Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 57 and 63, plate 3a). The long, unkempt hair and full beard of the next sculpture evoke a rustic sensibility appropriate to Hesiod (Richter 1965:56–66, figures 128–230), the author of the *Theogony* and *Works and Days,* whose literary preoccupation with

peaceful pursuits, rather than war, earned him a significant level of esteem among the poets of the Alexandrian age (Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 48–51; West 1988:xx–xxi). The next figure of the semicircle, a standing male, could be Orpheos, as two severely damaged birds are perched at his feet, perhaps referencing the musical poet's extraordinary ability to charm wild beasts, legendary monsters, and even inanimate objects with his irresistible melodies (Pindar, *Pythian 4* 176; Lauer and Picard 1955:figure 45, plate 10).[5] The Sarapis-headed herm leaned upon by the next member of the group allows his credible identification as the renowned statesman, orator, and literary scholar Demetrios of Phaleron, an advisor of Ptolemy I, who was miraculously healed of blindness by Sarapis and subsequently composed hymns in honor of his immortal savior (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers,* "Demetrios" 5.76, figure 10.3).[6] An ancient graffito, no longer extant, facilitated recognition of the westernmost statue as Pindar, the celebrated choral lyricist who introduced Zeus-Ammon to the Greeks and, long after his death, found favor with Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* 1.9.10; Pausanias, *Geography* 9.16; Pindar, *Pythian 4* 10–15; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives,* "Alexander" 11.6, figure 10.4).

Like the unrecognized sculpture to the left of Homer**,** the condition of the first of the sages on his right (east) has thus far precluded identification (Lauer and Picard 1955:figure 61, plates 3b and 11). The second effigy, by contrast, a figure seated upon a feline-featured bench, is known



Figure 10.3. Demetrios of Phaleron; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.72 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 1b)



Figure 10.4. Pindar; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.85 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 1a)

from the inscription "ΠΡΟΤΑΓ" on the *socle* to be the famed Thracian physical scientist and rhetorician Protagoras, here engaged with a rectangular apparatus of the sort used in antiquity to calculate surface areas and volumes (Plutarch, *The Dialogue on Love* 765 A, figure 10.5). To his right, a man standing with one leg elevated on a *capsa* and instructively gesturing with a professorial staff is probably the philosopher-astronomer believed to have been tutored by the priests of Egypt, Thales (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers,* "Thales" 1.24, 27, and 43–44; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 10; Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 69, 71, and 72, plate 14).[7] The next statue, seated upon a luxuriously oversized cushion, appears to be Herakleitos of Ephasos, the abstruse but influential philosopher who determined only change to be constant (Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation to the Greeks* 30; Plato, *Cratylus* 402 A; Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 78–80). The knotty wooden staff resting at his left side, either a scepter indicative of his regal birth or a club intended to recall his heroic namesake, is likely the key to determining his identity (Lauer and Picard 1955:141; Richter 1965:80). The base of the final effigy bears the inscription "ΠΛΑΤΩ" (*sic*), unambiguously identifying him—despite the absence of the final Greek *nu*—as Plato (Lauer and Picard 1955:plate 15), the founder of the Athenian Academy, teacher of Aristotle, and disciple of Socrates (Lauer and Picard 1955:figure 84). In the tradition of Thales, Plato reputedly acquired esoteric knowledge of celestial phenomena in Egypt (Strabo, *Geography*

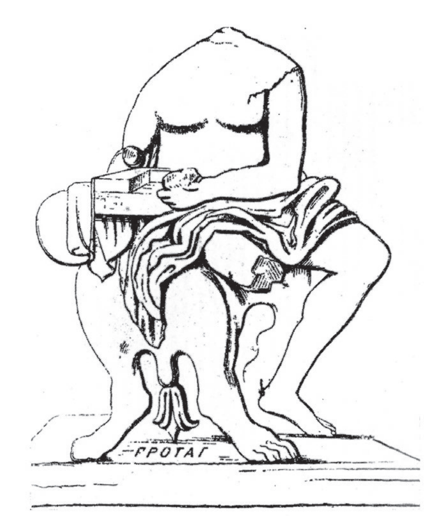


Figure 10.5. Protagoras; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.60 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 1c)

17.1.29), going on to study with the foremost Pythagoreans (Cicero, *The Republic* 1.10.16; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Philosophers,* "Plato" 3.6), a religio-philosophical sect likewise believed to have benefited from Egyptian wisdom.

The integration of this impressive selection of luminaries pronounced to all who entered the introduction of a distinctly Greek presence to the Sarapieion and, by association, to the traditional capital. In this way, the recently installed Macedonian monarch symbolically placed himself among the great kings of the pharaonic age, for the governmental seat was customarily located at Memphis and the Apis had long been metaphorically aligned with the Egyptian pharaoh. At the same time, the intellectuals featured here served to define the cultural identity of the Macedonian dynasty, for these great men exemplified Greek learning

and achievement. Appropriately, many of the figures included in the arrangement had Dionysian associations and/or characteristics, features that implicitly referenced the singular import of Dionysos to the Ptolemies, who claimed the god to be their divine progenitor. Certainly, after Alexander's carefully constructed public image, which memorably incorporated immortal parentage and connections, this form of divine sanction would have been integral to their legitimacy, as perceived by both Greek and Egyptian subjects. The Dionysian character of the group must also have reinforced the translative properties of the Hellenistic program as a whole, whereby the funerary nature of the precinct was indicated to Greek viewers by Dionysian iconography, since the Greeks had long equated their own Dionysos to the Egyptian Osiris. Many of these same Greek intellectuals had notable ties to Egypt and/or Egyptian wisdom, a feature that signaled Greek respect, even reverence, for the venerable culture of the Nile Valley, perhaps another aspect of dynastic and/or cultural character that the Ptolemies deemed expedient in the effort to bridge the gap between their Greek and Egyptian subjects and to ensure the loyalty of both.

Moving westward down the *dromos*, a collection of beings characterized by Dionysian and chthonic attributes and affiliations once formed a virtual infernal *thiasos* parading atop the *mastabas*. Here, the Hellenistic program appears to have served primarily as a visual translation of Egyptian religious practices for Greek participants in the mortuary rites of the bull, but in addition to this, the assertion of Ptolemaic royal identity, sovereignty, and legitimacy was thematically pervasive.

The central feature of the grouping was a panther surmounted by a youth (Figure 10.6). He is nude to the hips and wears Thracian-style sandals, a feature that links the child with the homeland of Dionysos. The identification of this figure as a member of the Dionysian retinue, perhaps even a youthful vision of the god himself, is secured by the ivy leaves strewn about the base of the statue. Sufficiently numerous analogous depictions of Dionysian characters astride powerful felines survive from the Hellenistic period to establish this arrangement as an iconic, and hence readily recognizable, incarnation of the convivial deity or one of his devotees (Lessing and Varone 1996:134; Pollitt 1999:figures 225, 230, and 231).

Two peacocks, each surmounted by a Dionysian child, similarly recognizable by

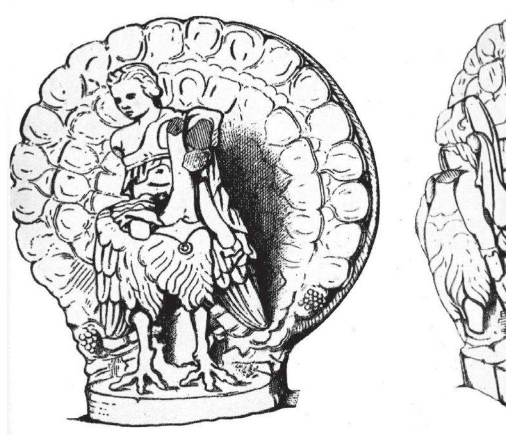


Figure 10.6. Mounted panther; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 2.25 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 3d)

partial nudity, sandals, and the grapevines and bunches that ornament the birds' tail plumes, were found flanking the mounted panther on the south *mastaba* (Figure 10.7). Comparative evidence demonstrates a correlation between peacocks and the Dionysian sphere by the Hellenistic era, when they appear in conjunction with elements of explicitly Dionysian iconography (Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 104–105 and 108). Perhaps as a consequence of Alexander the Great's legendary enchantment by the peacock, these exotic birds also seem to have been favored by members of the Ptolemaic Dynasty (Aelian, *On Animals* 5.21 and 11.33).

Further contributing to the Dionysian atmosphere was a lion—grapes littering the ground at its feet—carrying another, similarly clad youthful figure (Figure 10.8). The mounted lion adheres to the same iconographic tradition as the aforementioned panther (*Homeric Hymn to Dionysos 7* 44–57). The Dionysian character of this sculpture is reinforced by the inclusion of a lion-headed, faux fountain spout near the statue base, its perpetually flowing stream recalling the miraculous feats of Dionysos and his disciples, who could cause water, wine, milk, or even honey to gush from the ground (Euripides, *The Bacchants* 142–143 and 703–714).

Two seated Greek sphinxes—female and winged—were found along the north and south *mastabas* (Lauer and Picard 1955:figures 114–116). The sphinx was not a typical member of the Dionysian retinue; rather she was a merciless fiend, the Theban devourer of men (Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 541 and 776). Thus she tended to be deployed in the visual arts as a decorative—and frequently apotropaic—figure, initially appearing on pottery, weaponry, and armor as a potentially fearsome symbol (Kourou et al. 1997:1152, no. 8; 1156, no. 100) and later populating cemeteries as a guardian of the dead (Kourou et al. 1997:1153, no. 31; 1156, no. 102; 1157, no. 106). So favored for her protective power, the sphinx came to be



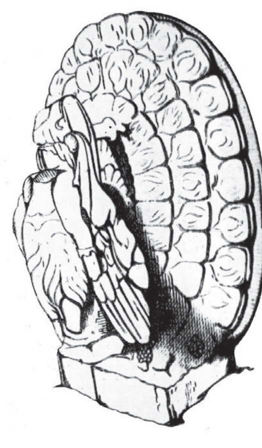


Figure 10.7. Pair of mounted peacocks; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.80 m and 1.75 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plates 4a and 4b)



Figure 10.8. Mounted lion; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.75 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 3b)

equated with the infernal realm, a sphere considered to be distinct from, though entirely complementary to, that of Dionysos during the Hellenistic age.

The mortuary overtone of this assemblage was affirmed by a pair of sirens found along the southern *mastaba* (Figure 10.9; Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 5b). According to legend, these former handmaidens of Persephone witnessed her abduction by Hades and were subsequently transformed into winged creatures, eventually coming to rest on a distant island, where they lived out their existence enticing passing sailors to their doom with a fatally beguiling song (Homer, *Odyssey* 12.39–54 and 181–200; Pollard 1977:188–189). Commonly portrayed as ruthless predators, sirens were also characterized in art as masterful musicians, occasionally appearing at banquets in the company of Dionysos or even at funerary feasts (Hofstetter and Krauskopf 1997:1099, no. 86; 1099–1100, no. 87; Pollard 1977:189). In the funerary context, they might signify the idyllic hereafter awaiting the virtuous, represent the soul of the deceased, or even act as chaperones conducting the dead to the Netherworld (Pollard 1977:189).

The component of the *dromos* statuary that most succinctly embodies the Dionysian and otherworldly concerns of the Hellenistic program is the statue of Kerberos. This ferocious, multiheaded sentinel of Hades, the brute retrieved from the Netherworld in the twelfth labor of Heracles (Homer, *Iliad* 8.368), later became the stalwart companion of the Hellenistic god Sarapis. Here it is dominated by the now familiar Dionysian child, grape bunches littering the *socle*

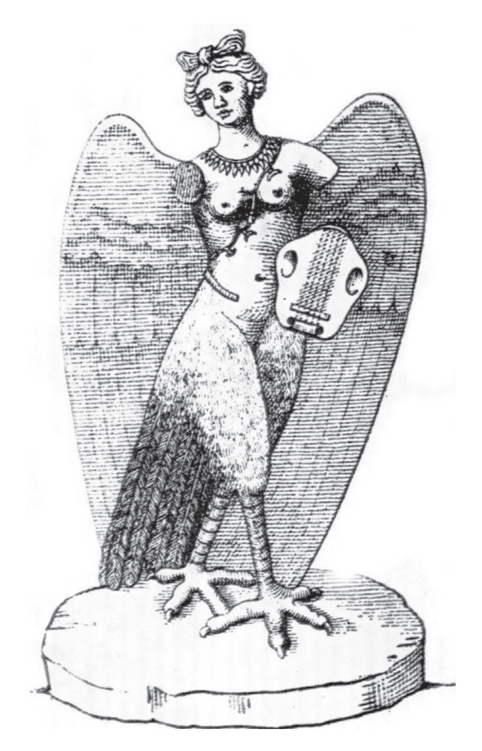


Figure 10.9. Siren; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.60 m. (Mariette-Pacha1882:plate 4c)

below (Figure 10.10). This manifestation of Kerberos represents a deviation from Greek convention, for despite the inclusion of such traditional, serpentine features as its coiling mane and snaky tail (Apollodoros, *The Library* 2.5.12), the creature's single extant head is distinctly leonine, a clear departure from earlier, typically canine depictions of the monster (Woodford and Spier 1992:26, no. 24; 27, no. 34). A survey of known depictions of Kerberos reveals a series of statues in which a central lion head is framed by two others, at least one of which is consistently canine (Woodford and Spier 1992:30, nos. 83–89). This group of objects appears to accord with Macrobius's fifth-century C.E. description of the famed cult statue of Sarapis at Alexandria, which showed the god accompanied by a version of Kerberos with the heads of a dog on the right, a lion in the middle, and a wolf on the left (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.20.13–14; Lauer and Picard 1955:239–240). Perhaps, then, the original configuration of the Memphite statue incorporated flanking heads of a dog and a wolf.

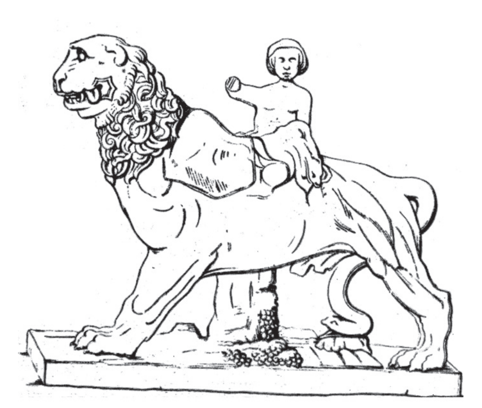


Figure 10.10. Mounted Kerberos; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.80 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 3c)

The final Hellenistic sculptural element uncovered at the Sarapieion is a human-headed falcon (Figure 10.11). Although the object is now eroded beyond recognition, a sketch by the original excavator captures sufficient detail to permit recognition of the Double Crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, a feature specific to the Egyptian king and certain divinities, as well as a small, beaklike nose and a voluminous beard spilling over a distinctly avian breast. The iconographic features that comprise this figure do not exist in the repertoire of Greek symbols; rather, they are unique to Egyptian



Figure 10.11. Falcon with human head; sketch by Auguste Mariette. Height 1.75 m. (Mariette-Pacha 1882:plate 5e)

visual culture, a fact that distinguishes this sculpture from the remainder of the Hellenistic program. In this singular instance, an Egyptian concept is articulated by means of the Greek aesthetic.

The physical attributes of this creature—the royal headdress, beard, and resemblance to a raptor—would seem to identify it as either Sokar, the immortal guardian of the Saqqara necropolis who came to be linked with both Osiris and Ptah, or the falcon god Horus, the son of Osiris whose earthly representative was the Egyptian king. The presence of the former would reinforce the funerary character of the *dromos* statuary. The presence of the latter, on the other hand, would recall the long-standing regal associations of the Apis bull, the function of Saqqara as a royal necropolis, and the significance of Memphis as the traditional capital of pharaonic Egypt.

Taken in conjunction with the Hellenistic style of the statue, the avian and royal attributes shared by Sokar and Horus might instead recommend identification of this figure as the *ba* of the Ptolemaic monarch. According to Egyptian thought, every being—whether mortal or divine—had a *ba*, a conscious aspect of the self that, though dependent upon the body for sustenance, could exist separate from it, even during an individual's lifetime (Allen 2002:27–28; Hornung 1992:179–184; Lichtheim 2006:163–169). The hieroglyphic sign for *ba* was a bird, and the *ba* was represented in art as a bird with a human head, signifying both its humanity and its mobility (Allen 2002:28; Hornung 1992:182; Silverman 1991:figure 32). Thus this statue might represent the notion that although the body of the king lived and ruled at the Hellenistic capital of Alexandria, his *ba* could frequent the Sarapieion of Saqqara/Memphis at will.

The statues of real and mythical creatures positioned along the western *mastabas* were selected and depicted to create a meaningful backdrop against which the ritual procession of the deceased Apis and his disciples was enacted. The profusion of Dionysian and otherworldly iconography and associations that characterize the group effectively accomplished this aim, as Dionysos had long been perceived by the Greeks to be the equivalent of Osiris, the king of the dead. Beyond these simple iconographic equivalencies, the procession formed by the Hellenistic sculpture group resembled a Dionysian *thiasos*, albeit one with remarkable infernal connotations, and so it may have additionally been seen as a variation of Dionysos's triumphant return from the east, a victory parade with sufficient chthonic characteristics to effectively illustrate, in Greek visual terms, the celebrated apotheosis of the Apis through his fusion with Osiris. In either case, the notoriously orgiastic rites of Dionysos were obliquely referenced as parallel to the cathartic sacraments performed in association with the resurrection of Osiris-Apis. Thus the statuary of the western *dromos* served as a sophisticated and aesthetically appealing set piece that conveyed the essential meaning of alien religious beliefs and practices using a visual language that was comprehensible to Greek viewers. Of course, the

repetition of Dionysian symbols and associations, more subtly integrated into the hemicycle of poets and philosophers stationed opposite the primary ingress to the east, additionally denoted the divine pedigree of the Ptolemies, reemphasizing the legitimacy of their hegemony, as all previous pharaohs were likewise descended from the gods. Interestingly, the figures comprising the *dromos* group appear to have been stationed outside the enclosure wall that surrounded the crypt of the bulls and its superstructure, perhaps indicative of deference to the tremendous sanctity of this space on the part of the Ptolemaic patron. This respectful sentiment is similarly apparent in the choice of intellectual notables included in the eastern hemicycle, many of whose accomplishments were believed by the Greeks to have been founded upon or advanced by exposure to Egyptian wisdom.

The Hellenistic statuary introduced to the Sarapieion complex in the early Ptolemaic period was carefully designed and positioned throughout the site to complement the rituals performed here relative to the resurrected Apis, imparting deeper meaning to the burgeoning population of Greek immigrants in and around Memphis without obstructing the venerable religious practices of indigenous devotees. The pervasive use of Dionysian and infernal iconography and connotations aptly interpreted the resurrectional nature of the native cult, likening a carefully woven tapestry of symbols pertaining to the convivial god and the Underworld to the apotheosis of the Apis through his unification with Osiris. In addition to the translation of esoteric native sacraments into the Greek visual vernacular, the Hellenistic program served to define the identity and elevate the status of the Ptolemaic monarch, exhibiting Greek intellectual luminaries as exemplars of the sophisticated culture embraced and propagated by the nascent dynasty and consistently referencing—both implicitly and explicitly—the realm of Dionysos, the purported immortal progenitor of the Ptolemies. This intertwined set of associations, visually articulated by means of a multifaceted sculptural composition established at a sacred site of long-standing political significance, was ultimately intended to unify the two primary demographics of Egypt in mutual religious devotion and to advocate for allegiance to the state, thereby promoting solidarity among the populace.

Of course, the ability of the Ptolemaic patron to effectively exploit this place of traditional cult in service of his own social and political agenda, without inciting pandemonium, plausibly suggests the collaboration of Egyptian leadership in the design and execution of the installation. The most probable native counterpart to the Ptolemaic sovereign in this venture is the supervisory order of Ptah, arguably the foremost religious counterpart to the Macedonian monarchy. Interestingly, this strategic use of art appears to have been an effective component of a broader policy, for throughout the period of Ptolemaic rule, a proliferation of special relations and interactions characterized the relationship between the crown and the city of Memphis (Crawford 1980:30; Hölbl 2001:281–284; Thompson 1988:77–78).

Furthermore, the fidelity of the Memphite nome to Ptolemaic authority was constant throughout the Ptolemaic period, despite numerous revolts by the indigenous population elsewhere in the kingdom—perhaps most notably at Thebes. This apparent partnership between Memphis and the monarchy justifies Strabo's judgment that Memphis deserved the honored designation "second city"—second only, in his estimation, to Alexandria (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.32). In fact, Memphis appears to have ranked first among the native towns, perhaps regarded by the Ptolemaic rulers less as a subordinate than as an indispensable ally, the esteemed Egyptian counterpart to the Greek capital at Alexandria.

Notes

1 Although the fragmentary nature of the extant evidence presently precludes the definitive determination of an installation date for the sculpture that comprised the Hellenistic program, the style of the statuary and the surviving epigraphical evidence, in addition to subject matter and the associated iconographic significance of the components (both individually and as two distinct groups), suggest an early Ptolemaic date, likely during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (305–284 B.C.E.) or Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285–246 B.C.E).

2 The Egyptian name for the compound, along with the bulk of the relevant archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence, demonstrates that this sacred enclosure was the site of the burial and associated mortuary cult of the deceased, and hence deified, Memphite bull as Osiris-Apis. The Greek title for the compound suggests that it was a temple dedicated to Sarapis, a hybrid Greco-Egyptian deity of apparent Hellenistic provenance. It has been plausibly proposed that Sarapis developed organically—or was consciously manufactured, presumably by the Macedonian rulership of Ptolemaic Egypt—as a Hellenistic reconfiguration of the Egyptian Osiris-Apis. In any case, Ptolemaic promotion of Sarapis, through transference of his center of worship to the Hellenistic capital at Alexandria by the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–221 B.C.E.) and his adoption as the effective divine patron of the state, has been interpreted as another strategy to unite and mollify the two primary demographics of Ptolemaic Egypt by means of shared religious devotion and apparent Ptolemaic solidarity with the masses. For further information on the derivation of Sarapis and his association with Osiris-Apis and the Sarapieion at Memphis, consult Fraser 1972:1:246–276; Mussies 1978; Stambaugh 1972; and Wilcken 1927:25–43.

3 A secondary route, a wadi road leading southward from the quay near modern Abusir, intersected the Sarapieion precinct at its western end, just north of the subterranean crypt of the bulls and its superstructure. The ample breadth, mild incline, and relative proximity to water transportation of this road make it the most practical route for moving the huge stone sarcophagi in which the bulls were interred (Mond and Myers 1934:6, 9).

4 Epigraphic analysis of the dedicatory inscription from this shrine suggests an early Ptolemaic date (Egger 1860:112; Fraser 1972:2:404, note 512; Lauer and Picard 1955:179). Though fragmentary, the language of the inscription makes it clear that this modest *aedicula*

was the headquarters of those responsible for the lamps of the god to whom it was consecrated (Egger 1860:113; Lauer and Picard 1955:178; Wilcken 1917:158). The divinity honored therein is not explicitly named in the extant inscription, but the use of lamps or illuminating flames was a feature common to both the age-old Egyptian worship of Osiris and Greek ritual practice, even prior to the Ptolemaic period (*Pyramid Texts* §247, 605–606; Lauer and Picard 1955:178, note 2; Thompson 1988:29; Wilcken 1927:34–35, 643). Interestingly, by the first century B.C.E., a passage from one of the *Oxyrhynchos Papyri* explicitly connects the *lychnaptoi*, illuminators of the sacred lights, to a shrine of Sarapis (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 1453.4 and 1453.8; Cumont 1937:129, note 3; Lauer and Picard 1955:179). Perhaps, then, the dedication from the Sarapieion provides early evidence for the worship of Sarapis, whose origin has been linked to Osiris-Apis, as noted above.

5 In the absence of a more definitive feature, such as a lyre, this identification must remain provisional (Bieber 1957:212). Furthermore, the reading of the birds as an attribute could suggest other identifications for the figure. They might suggest that the subject is Kallimachos, the third-century B.C.E. Alexandrian poet and scholar who found favor in the court of Ptolemy II. However, the probable inclusion of Ptolemy I's trusted advisor, Demetrios of Phaleron, demonstrated below to be one of the most securely identified members of the assembly, essentially precludes dedication of the group under Ptolemy II, whose aversion to Demetrios resulted in his exile and subsequent death. Dating of the Hellenistic installation in its entirety to the reign of Ptolemy I is supported by the epigraphy of dedicatory inscriptions. Another candidate for identification is Aristophanes (c. 450–385 B.C.E.), author of *The Birds*, the comedic play performed at the Athenian Festival of Dionysos in 414 B.C.E. Despite his apparently critical appraisal of Sokrates in *The Clouds*, he was greatly esteemed by Plato, who included the playwright in his *Symposium*. His inclusion therein was perhaps intended to defy popular perception that the object of Aristophanes's lampoon was the sophist himself, and instead to admonish the Athenian public for assigning such a preposterous persona to this great man. Unfortunately, the condition of the Memphite effigy—specifically the preservation of the body and lack of a head—complicates any effort to link it with the playwright. His most recognized feature was his baldness, and the few extant portraits plausibly recognized as Aristophanes are herms.

6 The inclusion of Demetrios of Phaleron in this impressive group, along with the explicit reference to his devotion to Sarapis denoted by the herm upon which he leans, supports the idea that the Hellenistic Sarapis was integrally linked to the Sarapieion at Saqqara and the worship of Osiris-Apis.

7 The muse of astronomy, Ourania, shares these attributes in a fresco from the peristyle of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii, establishing the Memphite figure to be a physical scientist concerned with celestial phenomena. Two Roman-era first-style mosaics of the so-called Seven Sages include an analogous individual who has been reliably identified as Thales (Brendel 1936).

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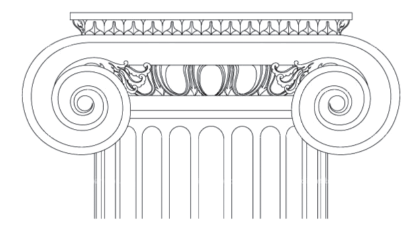
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CHAPTER ELEVEN



The Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene as an Expression of Conflicted Civic Identity

Amanda Herring

The Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Meander is, on the surface, a model example of a Hellenistic Greek temple. In its design, the architect Hermogenes featured all the components needed for a cosmopolitan temple in the international Greek style, including the Ionic order, the pseudo-dipteral design, and the continuous frieze in the entablature. Yet a closer look at the temple, which was the most important building in the city, provides valuable insight into the formation of Magnesia's civic identity and exposes the native Anatolian aspects of Magnesia's culture. The sanctuary's architectural elements and design reveal a desire on the part of Magnesia's citizens to be seen as Greek yet a conflicting unwillingness to completely abandon their Anatolian identity.

Inscriptions and literature that have survived from the site emphasize the Greek identity of Magnesia's citizens and their connections to other Greek cities, claiming shared ancestors and customs. The manner in which the goddess was worshipped and depicted in the sanctuary, however, incorporated local practices. The form of the sanctuary's cult statue was distinctly Anatolian; she was not Artemis the virgin huntress popular in mainland Greece but rather a figure of fertility, closely related in form and function to Artemis Ephesia. In addition, the pediment incorporated windows to allow moonlight to illuminate the statue during festivals, a unique local tradition. Finally, while the building's frieze has been frequently dismissed as an obligatory gesture, simply copying earlier temples, even this choice is more nuanced than it first appears. Use of the ultimate Panhellenic hero, Heracles, in his battle against the Amazons, connects Magnesia to

the Greek traditions. But the myth also reflects local beliefs, as the Amazons founded the nearby Temple of Artemis Ephesia and took refuge in the region as they fled from Heracles. Magnesia's sanctuary, therefore, is a physical symbol not only of the city's emphatically stated need to be seen as Greek but also its Anatolian heritage.

The city of Magnesia was located on the west coast of Ionia in Asia Minor, approximately 20 km southeast of the city of Ephesos. While it never gained the power and population of its neighbor, Magnesia proudly stated on coins from the Roman period that it was the seventh city in the province of Asia. At its height in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the city of Magnesia was large not only in population but also in physical size. Magnesia included within its walled borders all the buildings deemed necessary for a successful Greek and then Roman city, including a large stadium, gymnasium, theater, *theatron,* agora, and other civic and governmental buildings (Bingöl 2006, 2007; Bingöl and Kökdemir 2012; Humann et al. 1904).

Our understanding of how the Magnesians constructed their own identity and history as a city is greatly assisted by a series of inscriptions found in the west and south stoas of the city's agora. These buildings served as the main archive of the city, and epigraphic texts found inside document important events in the political and religious history of the city. Among these is a long inscription recording the story of the city of Magnesia's foundation. This origin myth, referred to as the *ktisis magnesias,* is dated to the end of the third century B.C.E. based on its archaeological context (Bingöl 2007:16–17; Clay 1993; Dušanić 1983; Kern 1900:no. 17). Such civic inscriptions recording a city's foundation are rare; more commonly, our knowledge of these stories comes from the longer texts of ancient historians or chroniclers, such as Herodotus, Strabo, or Pausanias (Gehrke 2001:298–299). The *ktisis magnesias* therefore provides a unique view of the formation of identity reflected in the public art and architecture of the city. Both were constructed by the same local, civic government as a form of propaganda, and they reveal the manner in which the ancient Magnesians wanted to be seen both by the city's own citizens and by others in the greater ancient world. It appears they were successful in molding their own identity, because the story was repeated in literary texts penned by non-Magnesians, including Strabo (Parthenius, *Love Story* no. 5; Strabo 14.1.39–41).

According to the *ktisis magnesias*, the future founders of Magnesia on the Meander originated in Thessaly in a region also called Magnesia. In the period before the Trojan War, due to a prophecy handed down by the Oracle at Delphi, the Magnesians left their homes and traveled to Crete, where they established a new colony located between Gortyn and Phaistos, also called Magnesia. The Magnesians were then to wait for a sign: the appearance of white crows. Eighty years after their arrival on Crete, the white crows appeared, and the Magnesians sent a delegation back to Delphi for further instructions. Apollo informed them that they were not to return to Thessaly but to

journey to an entirely new country to establish a new city. They were to be led to their new home in Pamphylia, at the base of Mount Thorax, by a man, Leukippos, whom they would encounter in the sanctuary at Delphi as they left the temple. Leukippos agreed to lead the Magnesians, and the entire colony abandoned their home on Crete and followed him to Asia Minor, where they established Magnesia on the Meander.

The Magnesians chose this version of the story because the *ktisis magnesias* established Magnesia not only as a city with an illustrious history but also as a participant in the affairs of the wider Greek world (Sumi 2004). They were proud not only of the association between their local history, the Delphic Oracle, and the hero Leukippos but also because the myth established Magnesia as one of the earliest Greek cities in Asia Minor. The timeline created in the foundation myth established the Magnesians' presence in Anatolia before any of their Ionian Greek neighbors. According to the *ktisis magnesias,* when Magnesia was founded, it was the only Greek city in the region. The neighboring cities were inhabited by Anatolians, and it was a number of years before the Ionians migrated from mainland Greece. The Magnesians, with the *ktisis magnesias,* established themselves as pioneers who paved the way for the great Greek society established in Asia Minor.

The pride that the Magnesians felt in their origin story can be seen not only in the prominent placement of the large, carved *ktisis magnesias* in the agora but also in a number of other inscriptions and coinage. Leukippos figured prominently on coins minted in Magnesia in both the Greek and Roman periods (Bingöl 2007:19; Schultz 1975:42). Additionally, in a number of their inscriptions, the Magnesians self-identified as Aeolian, invoking their Thessalian origins, in contrast to the majority of other Greeks in the region, who were self-described Ionians. Together, this appellation and their foundation story established a history separate from that of the Ionians and highlighted their earlier arrival in Anatolia.[1]

The archaeological and historical evidence indicates, however, that the Magnesia described in the *ktsis magnesias* was actually in a different location than the city that produced the inscription. In this early period, the site later occupied by Magnesia was home to only the Sanctuary of Artemis.[2] The city itself, known as Palaimagnesia (Old Magnesia), was located downriver at a now unknown site. In the fourth century B.C.E., the city was moved to occupy land surrounding the Temple of Artemis (Bingöl 2007:15–19).

This move of an entire population and urban space indicates a strong desire on the part of the Magnesians to be closer to their main sanctuary. In this later period, the sacred space of the sanctuary and the activities therein acted as the center of city life, both physically and culturally (Plate 11.1). The city grew outward from the sanctuary, with the most important cultural and political buildings, including those of the agora, located closest to the temple. Not only was the only entrance to the sanctuary through the agora, but on festival days, men and women were given the

day off to attend rites in the sanctuary, and it appears that while access was restricted to some extent, many Magnesians used the space regularly. In the third or fourth century C.E., rooms in the northeast stoa were even renovated into a large public toilet, speaking to the regular use of the space (Bingöl 1995:88–90; 1996:581–582; 1998:17; 1999:61; 2007:90–94). When the Magnesians gathered the resources and support to rebuild the temple in the Hellenistic period, the resulting project showcased not only the wealth of the Magnesians and their devotion to Artemis but also a statement of how they wished to be viewed by the larger world.

Although scholars debate the date of its construction, the temple can date no earlier than the late third century B.C.E., when the Magnesians established the city's most important festival, the Leukophryeneia.[3] The circumstances surrounding the festival's establishment are detailed in a long inscription found in the city's archive in the agora (Gehrke 2001; Kern 1900:no. 16; Rigsby 1996; Slater and Summa 2006; Sosin 2009; Sumi 2004; Thonemann 2007). At some point in the city's history—a date is not given in the inscription—the Magnesians witnessed a miraculous epiphany of their patron goddess. They went to Delphi to ask her brother Apollo for advice, mirroring events described in the *ktisis magnesias*. Apollo instructed the Magnesians to honor both him and his sister on a grander scale and said that if they did, the city of Magnesia was to be granted *asylia*. In 221–220 B.C.E., a date established by scholars based on events in the inscription, the Magnesians attempted to establish the Leukophryeneia, a Panhellenic festival dedicated to Artemis, to comply with the oracle. They sent envoys to their neighbors in Asia Minor, asking that they recognize the new festival and the sacred and inviolable nature of the Sanctuary of Artemis. However, the inscription indicates that Magnesia was unsuccessful.

In 208 B.C.E., the Magnesians tried again to establish the festival and the associated *asylia*.[4] This time, ambassadors were dispatched across the Mediterranean to Greek cities and to the courts of Hellenistic dynasts with letters requesting recognition of the new festival.[5] The Magnesians' appeals included a description of the proposed event, information about the history of their city, including its mythical foundation, and details about its patron goddess. Their propaganda stressed not only the sanctity of the goddess but the inherent Greekness of Magnesia, as evidenced by its foundation myth, underscoring its connections to other Greek cities (Gehrke 2001; Kern 1900:nos. 16–87; Sumi 2004).

In their requests, the Magnesians essentially asked their fellow Greeks not only to recognize their festival but also to validate Magnesia's Greek identity. They based this claim not on their present but rather on their past: Hellenistic Magnesia was Greek because it always had been Greek. The clearly Anatolian influences in their religion and culture, especially in the form of their goddess, were largely ignored. It was a strategy that worked for the Magnesians, since their mission in 208 was successful. The inviolability of

Artemis Leukophryene and her festival was accepted, as was the Greek identity of Magnesia (Kern 1900:nos. 17–87; Rigsby 1996:180–185).[6] Not only does the inscription provide a terminus post quem for the temple, but it also gives insight into how the Magnesians constructed their civic identity as a Greek city and the important role that Artemis and her sanctuary played in this construction.

The connection between Artemis Leukophryene and her city was both intimate and long established. A fragment written by the sixth-century B.C.E. Teosian poet Anacreon referred to Artemis Leukophryene as the shepherdess of her city; 200 years later, Xenophon called Artemis's sanctuary very holy (Anacreon fragment 1; Xenophon, *Hellenika* 3.2.19; Rigsby 1996:179). She was clearly the most important deity in the city, and her citizens turned to her for both protection and succor.

Inscriptions found in neighboring cities also highlight the importance of the goddess for Magnesia. At the beginning of the second century B.C.E., a war was fought between Magnesia and Miletos. A copy of the treaty that ended the war was found in Miletos carved on blocks of blue marble. The document establishes the terms of peace and includes the oaths sworn to uphold the treaty. The Milesians swore by the name of their most important deity, Apollo Didymaios, while the Magnesians swore by Artemis Leukophryene, indicating that she served the same role for Magnesia as Apollo did for Miletos (Burstein 1985; Errington 1989; Herrmann 1997:no 148; Wörrle 2004).

Artemis's sanctity was even recognized by non-Magnesians. A treaty between Smyrna and soldiers from Mount Sipylus required that a copy of the document be erected both in Smyrna and in the Sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene (Rigsby 1996:179). Pausanias, during his tour of the Athenian Acropolis, stated that the sons of Themistocles, who lived at Magnesia in the fifth century B.C.E., were allowed to erect a statue of Artemis Leukophryene (Pausanias 1.26.4). These examples indicate not only the local importance of Artemis Leukophryene but also her international fame. While few non-Magnesians worshipped her, they clearly recognized her power and sanctity, indicating the respect that she and her temple had gained across the Mediterranean.

While the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene that stood in the *cella* of her temple has been lost, one may reconstruct its appearance from coinage minted in the city during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. After 190 B.C.E., Artemis appeared in two different guises on Magnesian coinage. The first category, which was especially popular in the second century B.C.E., consists of a series of wreathed tetradrachms. A bust of Artemis surrounded by a wreath appears on the obverse of each of these coins. The goddess is represented as a young woman with a diadem woven through her hair. She holds a bow and a quiver on her shoulder, cementing her identification as the goddess of the hunt (Jones 1979). These images of Artemis show a version of the goddess that corresponds with her representations in mainland Greek art.

By contrast, the other appearances of Artemis on Magnesian coinage show the cult statue of the goddess, which takes a clearly Asiatic form (Burrell 2004:142–144; Head 1892:158–172; Schultz 1975). The statue is extremely rigid and frontal in nature (Figure 11.1). Artemis stands, wearing a tight, tubular dress that tapers down to her ankles. The front of the dress is decorated with banded designs and a number of bulbous ornaments. She holds two balls of yarn in her hands. On her head is a tall *polos* headdress, and two *nikai* fly next to her head and reach up to crown her.

The depictions of Artemis Leukophryene on the city's coinage are startlingly similar to those of the better-known Artemis Ephesia, the patron of Magnesia's neighboring city. The two versions of Artemis, while given different epithets and worshipped in different temples, shared a number of attributes, including their tight, column-like dresses and the inclusion of the bulbs on their chests. An alliance coin minted during the reign of the Roman emperor Caracalla showcases the similarities between the two versions of Artemis (Schultz 1975:70). The two deities stand side by side and are almost identical in appearance, including their clothing, headdresses, and attributes. Similarities again emerge when the characters of the two goddesses are examined. Like Artemis Ephesia, Artemis Leukophryene was a goddess closely identified with a city, whose main function was to protect her citizens. Both goddesses, while worshipped under the name of a Greek goddess by a long-established Greek population, were clearly hybrid products of Greek and Anatolian religious beliefs. The proximity between the two cities makes it highly likely that the two goddesses developed from the same origin.



Figure 11.1. Coin minted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius in Magnesia on the Meander, featuring the cult statue of Artemis Leukophryene on the reverse, 161–180 C.E. (Courtesy American Numismatic Society, New York; 1944.100.46477)

On a number of Magnesian coins featuring the cult statue of Artemis, most of which date from the imperial period, the cult statue has been placed inside a representation of the temple itself. The temple is depicted in shorthand, with only the most important elements included: steps, a single column at either end of the platform, and a triangular pediment. The detail that sets this temple apart from a generic Greek temple is the inclusion of the windows in the pediment. The Temple of Artemis Leukophryene featured three doorways cut out of the back wall of the pediment (Figure 11.2). Including the windows on the coinage indicates that the mint's artists wished to highlight the unique aspects



Figure 11.2. Reconstructed pediment of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, Magnesia on the Meander. (Photo by Amanda Herring)

of their temple and that the windows were a key feature of the temple's design. Additionally, the coinage indicates the importance of the Sanctuary of Artemis in the daily lives of Magnesians. Their patron goddess received a place of honor on their coinage, which served as a visual form of propaganda for the city as it was distributed throughout the Mediterranean.

Why the windows were included in the temple's pedimental design and how they were used has been a matter of debate since its excavation in the late nineteenth century (Humann et al. 1904). While unusual, the inclusion of windows was not unique to Magnesia. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesos also included windows in its pediments, but due to the poor state of remains at the site, we may never understand how they functioned (Bammer 1984; Bingöl 1999; Trell 1945). Orhan Bingöl has presented a convincing theory for their usage at Magnesia, however. He argues that windows were used to allow moonlight into the *cella,* at certain times of the year illuminating the cult statue. An inscription found at Magnesia indicates that many of the festivals and rituals of Artemis took place during the full moon, which would have been appropriate for a lunar goddess (Bingöl 1999; Kern 1900:no. 98). While a similar theory has been proposed for the illumination of the cult statue of Apollo at Bassae by sunlight, there is no direct parallel for this particular act of epiphany (Cooper 1996). It appears to be a local event, developed for this uniquely Anatolian form of Artemis.

When the Magnesians decided in the Hellenistic period to rebuild the temple to hold their most important deity, they did so in a grand manner. Their first step in this process was hiring the respected architect Hermogenes. The name Hermogenes is known to us today primarily through the work of the Roman writer Vitruvius, whose first-century B.C.E. instruction book for architects, *De architectura,* describes the work of a number of earlier architects whose treatises have been lost or whose temples stand in ruin. Vitruvius appears to respect the Greek architect highly and makes numerous references to him throughout the text (Vitruvius 3.2.6, 7.praef.12).[7] The building that resulted was viewed as Hermogenes's great masterpiece.

Hermogenes built his temple in the center of a large complex—with boundaries defined by a series of stoas—that featured an elaborate altar and sacred spring (Figures 11.3 and 11.4). In the ancient period, the temple was deemed one of the most beautiful in existence. Vitruvius was not the only author to sing its praises; Strabo highlights its elegant proportions and its size as the third largest temple in Asia Minor (Strabo 14.1.40).[8] Modern scholars, by contrast, have not been impressed by the temple, and many seem puzzled by its ancient reputation. They describe its sculpted frieze as squat and ugly, and they do not see elegance or harmony in the proportions of the architecture, citing its short entablature and heavy column capitals (Carpenter 1926:267; Sinn 1980:73). I posit that these differences in opinion speak to differences between ancient and modern tastes and also that the choices for the building's construction and decoration can be directly attributed to the unique needs of the Magnesians who commissioned it and used it as an expression of civic identity.

The edifice was raised above the level of the sanctuary on a high platform of seven steps, impressing the viewer with its immense scale, an effect increased by the sheer size of the temple. The building was constructed on an Ionic, octastyle pseudo-dipteral plan, the invention of which Vitruvius credits to Hermogenes. The long sides featured 15 columns, and its dimensions, 41 x 67.5 m, made it elongated and rectangular. Additionally, the entire plan of the Temple of Artemis was organized on a precise grid, which again aligns with Vitruvius's statements about Hermogenes's love for harmonious, organized proportions. Each of the building's elements, including the cella, pronaos, and opisthodomos, was designed using a constant set of proportions, with the diameter of the column as its basic unit. The pronaos was equal in size to the cella, while the opisthodomos was exactly half the size of the other two rooms (Bingöl 2007:53–63; Pollitt 1986:245–247).

In his use of the Ionic order at Magnesia, Hermogenes reinterpreted the order, departing from other buildings in Asia Minor, including the nearby Temple of Artemis Ephesia. He introduced elements commonly used in mainland Greece but not in Anatolia, including the three-part Attic column base and the continuous sculpted frieze



Figure 11.3. Current state photograph of the Sanctuary of Artemis, Magnesia on the Meander; view looking east. (Photo by Amanda Herring)

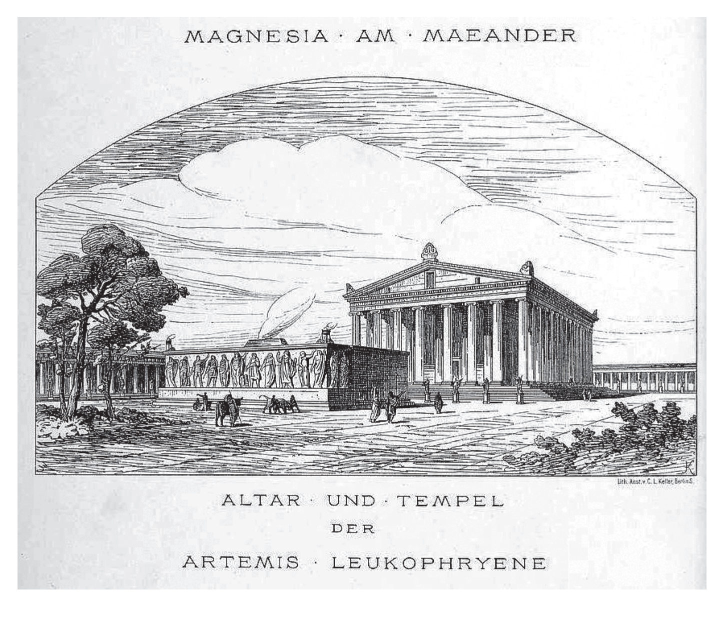


Figure 11.4. Reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Artemis, Magnesia on the Meander. (From Humann et al. 1904:frontispiece)

above the architrave. Magnesia's temple marks the first time these elements had been used on a building in Anatolia (Bingöl 2007:53–63; Demangel 1932; Pollitt 1986:245–247). However, after the Magnesian temple's construction, these elements, especially the continuous frieze, were frequently imitated; they appeared regularly on temples in Asia Minor. Hermogenes, with his ability to pull from a number of different architectural sources to produce something innovative, created a new canon. For the ancient viewer visiting the Sanctuary of Artemis for the first time, the combination of Hermogenes's thoughtful simplification of architectural forms and heavy, sculpted decoration must have seemed both familiar and innovative. All the elements had been used before, but never before in this way.

The southwest facade of the building, which functioned as its entrance and was the first side seen by the visitor, embodied Hermogenes's approach to the temple. The eight Ionic columns, which stood approximately 12 m tall, combined with the edifice's tall podium, were intended to impress by their sheer size (Bingöl 2007:63). The entablature that topped them, by contrast, was relatively short and light, measuring only half the height of the columns at its center. It appeared to provide the finishing decoration rather than a structural element. The entire facade was highly decorative, with sculpted moldings and reliefs placed on every available surface.

The highlight of the exterior sculpted decoration, however, was the frieze course. At only .81 m, it was relatively short in height, especially when compared with the rest of the massive temple. Even the architrave was slightly taller. The frieze wrapped around the entire temple with a total length of approximately 175 m (Webb 1996:89–90).[9] A single subject was represented on all four sides of the building: a Heraclean Amazonomachy. Greeks and Amazons are depicted battling to the death in hand-to-hand combat (Figure 11.5). The Amazons fight either on foot or on horseback, wielding swords, axes, spears, and shields. Most of the women wear *chitoniskoi*. This garment consisted of a bodice belted below the breasts and a short, draped skirt. Their right breasts are exposed, following the common convention in Greek art.

Many of the Greek warriors fight in the nude, while others wear *chitoniskoi* or even armor in the form of cuirasses, helmets, and leather skirts (Figure 11.6). All the Greeks battle on foot and are armed with the traditional weapons of the Greek hero, including the sword and shield, and in a few cases a spear. In addition, all the Greeks, with only a few notable exceptions, are young and unbearded. Neither their faces nor those of their opponents betray much emotion, even as they strike, parry, and fall victim to their enemies' weapons.

The sculptors must have been aware that the same subject depicted across the entire frieze had the potential to become both repetitive and boring. Examples of their attempts to counteract this possible outcome can be found throughout the frieze. There is a great deal of variety in the costumes and poses of the Greeks



Figure 11.5. Frieze block from the Temple of Artemis, Magnesia on the Meander, featuring an Amazonomachy, second century B.C.E. (Musée du Louvre, Paris. Image © Tony Querrec, Musée du Louvre, RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York)



Figure 11.6. Frieze block from the Temple of Artemis, Magnesia on the Meander, featuring an Amazonomachy, second century B.C.E. (Musée du Louvre, Paris. Image © Philippe Fuzeau, Musée du Louvre, RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, New York)

and Amazons. No two confrontations are the same. Greeks pull Amazons off their horses by their hair; Amazons swing their axes at the men; while other women, who have fallen to the ground, reach up to fight off their attackers. This variety stops the frieze from feeling monotonous. Rather, a viewer would have wanted to continue moving both eyes and body to see how the battle would turn out by following the rampage across the temple's entablature.

Many scholars have leveled criticism against the Magnesians' frieze, labeling it little more than a "glorified molding," citing the relatively low height of the frieze band and its style of carving

(Ridgway 2001:151–156; Sinn 1980:73). Because figures fill the entire field of the frieze from top to bottom, the inclusion of horses leads to problems of proportion. For example, a Greek warrior on foot is the same height as an Amazon on her horse. Many of the female figures, therefore, appear unnaturally small and squat. Additionally, the bodies of both men and women are heavily molded, with thick limbs and heavily folded drapery. Physically, the relief is fairly deep, but the composition appears flat because the height of the relief is uniform across the frieze, with little overlapping between elements. However, this article argues that the designers of the temple saw the space as far more than simple decoration. While the style of the sculpture does not appeal to modern eyes, the narrative context of the frieze was used to impart a propagandistic message about Magnesia and its people to ancient viewers.

Central to this analysis of the frieze are four figures who stand out in the clash of combatants. Iconographically, each can be identified as a version of Heracles (Figure 11.7). He is the only bearded figure on the frieze, and his massive, mature physique, along with his attributes of club and lion skin, set him apart from the other Greek warriors. On each block, even though he is engaged in a duel with an Amazon, his body is twisted so that it faces out toward the viewer. It is a unique position in the frieze, and it highlights his importance in the scene. Each representation of Heracles is different and varies not only his position but also how his familiar attributes, the club and lion skin, are utilized. The hero is depicted in positions ranging from completely nude brandishing his club to dressed in the lion skin thrown over his head. These representations of Heracles again showcase the importance of variety to the frieze's sculptors.

Heracles's presence is extremely important to our understanding of the Amazonomachy frieze. By including Heracles in the composition, the designers transformed the frieze from a generic battle scene to a specific, recognizable event from Greek mythology. A battle of Greeks and Amazons was an appropriate subject for a temple dedicated to Artemis, especially for the Asian version of Artemis worshipped at Magnesia, who was closely related to Artemis of Ephesos. The Ephesians believed that their city's original sanctuary to Artemis was founded by a tribe of Amazons, who established it as a place of sanctuary, and Amazons played a large part in the art and rites of the temple (Kallimachos, *Hymn to Artemis* 273; Pausanias 7.2.7–8; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.61). For instance, the sanctuary housed statues of female warriors sculpted by some of the most important sculptors in the fifth century B.C.E. (Pliny, *Natural History* 34.53; Ridgway 1974). Even though Amazons are not mentioned in the foundation myths of Magnesia, the close relationship between Artemis and the tribe of women would have made a composition involving them a relevant and appropriate subject for the decoration of her temple. The logic of choosing an Amazonomachy for the entablature frieze is reinforced when one considers previous representations of the subject. Battles of Greeks



Figure 11.7. Frieze block from the Temple of Artemis, Magnesia on the Meander, featuring a Heracles fighting in an Amazonomachy, second century B.C.E. (Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photograph by Amanda Herring)

and Amazons were popular subjects for sculpted friezes because they lent themselves well to the constraints of the medium. It was relatively easy to modify a battle scene to fit within the long, rectangular shape of the Ionic frieze (Ridgway 1999:156–162). In keeping with the purposeful melding of old and new forms, it holds that the builders of the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene would balance the medium of the entablature frieze, which was new to them, with a subject that was well tested and that showcased their knowledge of traditional Greek forms.

The staging of the battle furthers our understanding of the two-pronged reason the Magnesians chose this subject. While the Amazons do appear to be on the defensive against the Greeks, as indicated by the large number of women who have been pushed to their knees or taken off their horses, they have yet to be defeated. The women acquit themselves bravely in the battle and reflect well on their patron, Artemis. Temples and their sculpture glorified not only the deity to whom they were dedicated but also the Greek people. Religious architectural sculpture represented the glory of the Greeks, not their failures; to depict the defeat of Greeks by Amazons, whose Eastern, female society in many ways represented the antithesis

of Hellenism, would have been entirely inappropriate. The Amazons could be respected as worthy military opponents and as the founders of religious cults, but they could not be shown as superior to Greeks. It would have been especially important for the Magnesians, who stress their own Greekness in their inscriptions and who wanted to be recognized by the larger world as Greek, rather than Asian, to show the Greeks as triumphant against the Eastern Amazons.

The inclusion of Heracles underscores the role of the frieze as a representation of the values of the Magnesians, both as Greeks and as worshippers of Artemis. Heracles was the ultimate Panhellenic hero. By choosing to represent his battle against the Amazons, the Magnesians showed both their knowledge of Greek mythology and their own allegiance to the culture he represented. A Heraclean Amazonomachy, however, also references their own local history. According to some histories of the Temple of Artemis Ephesia, the Amazons took sanctuary there when they fled from Heracles (Pausanias 7.2.7–8). This version of the story gives a local significance to the Heraclean Amazonomachy, as part of the battle took place in the region of Magnesia. The choice of the subject matter is therefore extremely appropriate for the Temple of Artemis. Even as the Magnesians highlighted their Greek identities in their self-constructed history and culture, they acknowledged their place in Anatolia through their choice of subject matter for their frieze and the form of the cult statue of their goddess.

The people of Magnesia on the Meander used the sanctuary dedicated to their patron goddess, Artemis Leukophryene, to make statements about their identities and their relationship to the larger Greek world. Their desire to highlight their inherent Greekness and contribution to international history is clear from their foundation myth and the early history recorded in the archive in the agora. The prominent location of the sanctuary in the center of the city and the expense lavished on its construction indicate that it was intended to function as a physical manifestation of this identity. The Magnesians chose to make these declarations in the architectural language of the period, including the Hellenistic emphasis on elaborate decoration, ordered architectural forms, and monumental scale, to show their knowledge of artistic trends and styles. However, they modified the international style to incorporate local identities and concerns, indicating their refusal to completely abandon their Anatolian past.

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Notes

1 The Ionic versus Aeolic identity of the Magnesians is, in many ways, more complicated than their inscriptions would lead one to believe. For example, even though Magnesia was never a member of the Ionian League, many of its closest neighbors belonged to the league and called themselves Ionian. It is highly likely that there was cultural overlap between the cities, as well as familial connections due to intermarriage. In addition, the epigraphic evidence from Magnesia indicates that the language the Magnesians spoke was Ionian not Aeolic. For a discussion of Magnesia's ethnic and linguistic identity, see Thonemann 2007:155–159 and Dušanić 1983:29–31.

2 The archaic temple to Artemis appears to have been dismantled, with its foundations left beneath later structures. The excavators of the site have found evidence of the previous temple's existence in the form of archaic architectural elements, including column capitals and pieces of foundation. The archaic temple was made from Ephesisan limestone and featured six Ionic columns on its short sides. The number of columns along the long sides has not yet been determined. See Bingöl 2007:54 for a discussion of the archaic temple.

3 Proposed dates for the temple range from the mid-third century down to the first century B.C.E. Intimately tied into this discussion of the date of the Temple of Artemis are debates regarding the dates of the career of the building's architect, Hermogenes. However, for the most part, aside from Vitriuvius, our knowledge of Hermogenes must be derived from the temples attributed to him, and so, for the most part, questions of the date of the temple at Magnesia and the career of Hermogenes involve circular logic. The date of the construction of the Temple of Artemis can be determined by an examination of Hermogenes, yet knowledge about Hermogenes is mainly derived from examinations of his largest temple at Magnesia. The earliest argued date is 221 B.C.E., based on the inscription, discussed in this chapter, of the establishment of the Leukophryeneia (Kern 1900:no. 16). In addition, many scholars argue for the height of Hermogenes's career in the late third century (Kreeb 1990; Stampolides 1990). A second-century date, based on stylistic qualities of the temple's architecture and sculpture, is proposed by Osada (1993), Ridgway (2000), Rumscheid (1994), Tomlinson (1963), and Yaylali (1976). An argument for a long period of construction for the temple was proposed by Bingöl (1990) based on analysis of the Ionic columns. A number of other scholars have accepted the idea of long construction, with a plan in the late third or early second century B.C.E., in a modified form from Bingöl. They include Kreeb (1990), Ridgway (2000), Rumscheid (1994), and Stampolides (1990). However, these scholars differ from one another about when exactly construction began and ended. Potentially modifying these positions, however, are recent archaeological discoveries at the site. In conversations with Orhan Bingöl at Magnesia in May 2015 and also in a lecture at UCLA in March 2012, Bingöl indicated that his excavation team had discovered epigraphic evidence related to the construction of buildings in the sanctuary. Through analysis of letter forms, the archaeologists have dated these inscriptions to the late first century B.C.E., and based on this epigraphic data and additional archaeological evidence, the excavation team has dated the stoas,

propylon, and altar to the first century B.C.E. It is therefore possible, if the rest of the sanctuary was built at the same time as the temple, that the temple dates to the late first B.C.E. Bingöl indicated that further study is necessary if the temple is to be securely down-dated to this period. Yearly excavation reports summarizing work at the site can be found in the journal *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. Based on the currently available epigraphic and archaeological data along with stylistic evidence, this author supports a long period of construction beginning in the second-century B.C.E. and continuing into the first century B.C.E.

4 The revised Leukophryeneia, which took place every five years, was truly Panhellenic, as it was open to all Greeks, not just those in Asia. Instead of cash prizes, the winners of the games were awarded gold crowns equivalent in value to those given at the Pythian games. Rigsby (1996:184) ponders why the Magnesians tried again in 208 to establish the Leukophryeneia. He hypothesizes that the Magnesians were motivated by the success of the Milesians in establishing their own Panhellenic festival, the Didymeia. Scholars have also questioned why the Magnesians would include the original, unsuccessful mission in the clearly propagandistic inscription. Thonemann (2007) argues that the document has been mistranslated and that the initial mission was not sent only to the Greeks of Asia but rather that the Magnesians were the first Greeks in Asia to apply for a Panhellenic festival. They would have therefore recorded the unsuccessful mission to emphasize that they had earlier claims to a Panhellenic festival than their rivals at Miletos. Sosin (2004) argues that Magnesia did not send out envoys in 221 and that the initial mission to establish the festival failed, not only because other Greeks were unwilling to recognize the inviolability of the sanctuary but also because the Magnesians themselves were unable to organize the mission.

5 Thonemann 2007:151 argues that the Leukophryeneia was already established as an important festival in Magnesia and that in 208 B.C.E. the Magnesians attempted to have a local festival transformed into an international one. His hypothesis is based solely on his reading of the inscription found in the agora. To the best of my knowledge, earlier evidence for the existence of the Leukophryeneia has not been found, and so his theory can be neither confirmed nor disproved. For the purposes of this article, I am treating the Leukophryeneia as a new event, since even if it had existed on a local level before 208, in its new incarnation it was necessarily quite different.

6 The city's archive records not only the initial mission but also the responses of each of the cities and dynasts that supported the claim. It is estimated that approximately two-thirds of the original inscriptions survive and that there were originally at least 151 positive responses to the Magnesians' petition. The respondents include cities in mainland Greece such as Athens and Delphi; cities in Asia like Tralles and Knidos; and important Hellenistic rulers, including Attalos I of Pergamon, Ptolemy IV of Egypt, and the Seleucid Antiochos I. In addition, Greeks from across the Mediterranean came to compete in the games and to celebrate Artemis, and mentions of the Leukophryeneia and the inviolability of Magnesia have been found in other cities.

7 Little is known about Hermogenes beyond what Vitruvius tells us. It is thanks to Vitruvius that the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene, in addition to the Temple of Dionysos at Teos, can even be attributed to Hermogenes. Vitruvius also states that Hermogenes wrote treatises about the design of the two buildings, but these have been lost. The temples are first attributed to Hermogenes by Vitruvius at 3.2.6, while the treatises are discussed at 7.praef.12. For a discussion of Hermogenes as discussed by Vitruvius, see Carpenter (1926:267–68), Haselberger (1990), Hoepfner (1990), Kreeb (1990), Stampolides (1990), and Tomlinson (1963, 1989).

8 Strabo states that only the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos and the Temple of Apollo at Didyma were larger than the Temple of Artemis Leukophryene. Today, however, it is generally believed that the temple at Magnesia was actually the fourth-largest temple in Asia Minor. In addition to the temples at Ephesos and Didyma, the Temple of Artemis at Sardis was larger in area, as measured by its foundations. The dimensions of each of these temples can be found in Dinsmoor 1975, in his chart "Chronological List of Greek Temples."

9 Of the original 175 m length, 134.5 m of the frieze are extant. These surviving blocks are spread across three museums: the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, and the Musée du Louvre in Paris. The largest group of blocks, numbering 43, which represents almost half the length of the entire surviving frieze, is in Paris. For the Paris blocks, see Davesne (1982) and Hamiaux (1998:no. 396), which identifies a previously unknown block from the frieze. Thirty-nine blocks are housed in Istanbul, while the remainder are in Berlin. For the Istanbul portion of the frieze, see Mendel (1912–1914:363–419). For the Berlin blocks, see Yaylali 1976. For treatments of the frieze in its entirety, see Herkenrath (1902), Ridgway (2000:107–109), Webb (1996:89–92), and Yaylali (1976).

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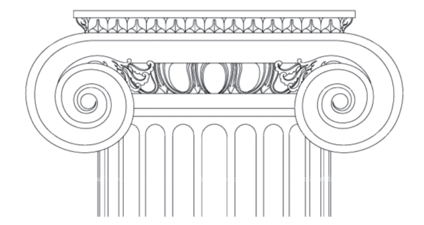
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CHAPTER TWELVE



Recent Discoveries Concerning Religious Life in Europos-Dura[1]

Pierre Leriche (translation by Maura K. Heyn)

According to the principles that prompted its creation in 1986, the Mission Franco-Syrienne d'Europos-Doura (MFSED) has devoted itself to renewal of the archaeological and architectural study of the site and to the salvage of the numerous monuments unearthed there between the two world wars and, after 50 years of abandonment, threatened with collapse.[2] Numerous religious buildings figure among these monuments; the recent study of them supplements and modifies the picture given by earlier publications.[3] Additionally, the MFSED has undertaken to make known several monuments that were excavated but not published by Yale University, among them two religious buildings: a sanctuary (X9) and a temple (C4) (Plate 12.1). Finally, new historical inquiries, the dire condition of certain buildings, and new development projects have prompted the opening of excavation sites in new areas, resulting in the discovery of two new religious structures (M5 and A1). The discovery of these two new cult buildings brings the total number of known temples or sanctuaries in Europos-Dura to 19.

Indeed, the religious phenomenon is one of the most remarkable aspects of the civilization that reveals itself at Europos-Dura. It was the paintings from the Temple of Bêl that attracted worldwide attention to the site; it was the grand sanctuaries of Bêl and Artemis that formed the centerpiece of Franz Cumont's excavations; and it was in the religious buildings that the Yale excavations revealed the remarkable pictorial ensembles of the city, all the while supporting a growing interest in the cult buildings in the city.[4] It is for this reason that all those who are interested in

Europos-Dura are attentive to the religious phenomenon.[5]

In 1997 I attempted to review the discoveries related to religious architecture in Europos-Dura (Leriche 1997a). Today, in anticipation of the appearance of articles or definitive publications,[6] I find it useful to present new contributions concerning the religious universe of Europos-Dura by taking stock of recent architectural discoveries,[7] describing three new representations of divinities, and discussing the ongoing reflection concerning the religious phenomenon at Europos-Dura.

In the realm of architectural discoveries, I first present those that pertain to cult buildings that are already known (the sanctuaries of Bêl, Artemis, and Aphlad; the Temple of the Gaddé). Next I present the Temple of Zeus Megistos and the "North Temple," excavated but not published by the Yale expedition. Finally, I discuss a cult chamber on the main street (M5) discovered long ago by the MFSED and also the discovery in 2011 of a new Temple of Zeus at the foot of the citadel (A1) (Plate 12.1).

Cult Buildings Discovered by the Yale Expedition

Published Sanctuaries and Temples

The Temple of Bêl

The Temple of Bêl (J9), the first to have been excavated at Europos-Dura, is the most famous of the polytheistic cult buildings at the site (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:11–12, 67–69 [Pillet]; Baur et al. 1933:16–19 [Pillet]; Cumont 1926:29–41; Dirven 1999; Downey 1988) (Figure 12.1). Prior to the creation of the MFSED, it had been partially destroyed by the looting of building materials, and piles of masonry debris were lying on the ground in front of the temple, as well as in the naos and pronaos.

Since 1986, this sanctuary has been regularly studied and maintained by the MFSED, which made it the focus of a joint European–Syrian restoration operation (2002–2004). The objective was to return the temple to the state in which it was found in 1922–1923. The entire complex was treated, but the temple itself (the naos, pronaos, and lateral rooms C and D) and its vicinity were the objects of additional archaeological research in 2002 and 2003 (Leriche et al. 2007). This research was completed in 2009 and 2010 in anticipation of the publication of this sanctuary (Figure 12.2).[8]

Even before restoration of the Sanctuary of Bêl, a study by Jean-Claude Bessac (1997) on the construction of the stone wall around the city made an important contribution to the question of the relationship between the Temple of Bêl and Tower 1. Clark Hopkins, who had seen that this tower, initially square in plan, had been doubled in length toward the west, concluded that the square tower was a temple that predated the construction of the wall, subsequently encased in Tower 1 when the wall was built (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:88–80 [Hopkins]; Hopkins 1931; Rostovtzeff 1934:290–291 [Hopkins]).

Using the tool markings, the mason's marks, and the organization of the construction site, Bessac demonstrated that the square tower was built at the same time as the stone fortification wall (the mid- to late second century B.C.E.) and that once the lower portion was built, the builders



Figure 12.1. General view of the Temple of Bêl at the end of the American–French expedition. (Archives Yale University Art Gallery)

decided to extend the tower after changing their defensive strategy. Thus Bessac's discovery negates the hypothesis of Hopkins. There was never a Temple of Bêl in Tower 1 before the construction of the Hellenistic rampart in the city of Europos-Dura. The installation of the Temple of Bêl between Tower 1 and the northwest corner of the wall happened long after construction of the fortification walls around the city in the Parthian period (Leriche 1997b).

Condition of the Remains

Inside the debris-filled naos are two masonry fragments that originated in the *aedicula,* which at the time of discovery was situated in the middle of the room and had been left in place by the previous excavators. Any hope of reconstructing this *aedicula* is lost.

The large arch that marks the transition from the pronaos to the naos rested on a rubble *socle* that forms the threshold between the two rooms. The central portion of this *socle* had been removed down to the bedrock by our predecessors, probably to facilitate the passage of wheelbarrows. In addition, the wall separating the naos from Room C to the north, already in very poor condition from the early excavations, has disappeared, perhaps because it rested on layers of ash. In contrast, the wall that separates the *pronaos* from Room D stands on hard limestone bedrock by

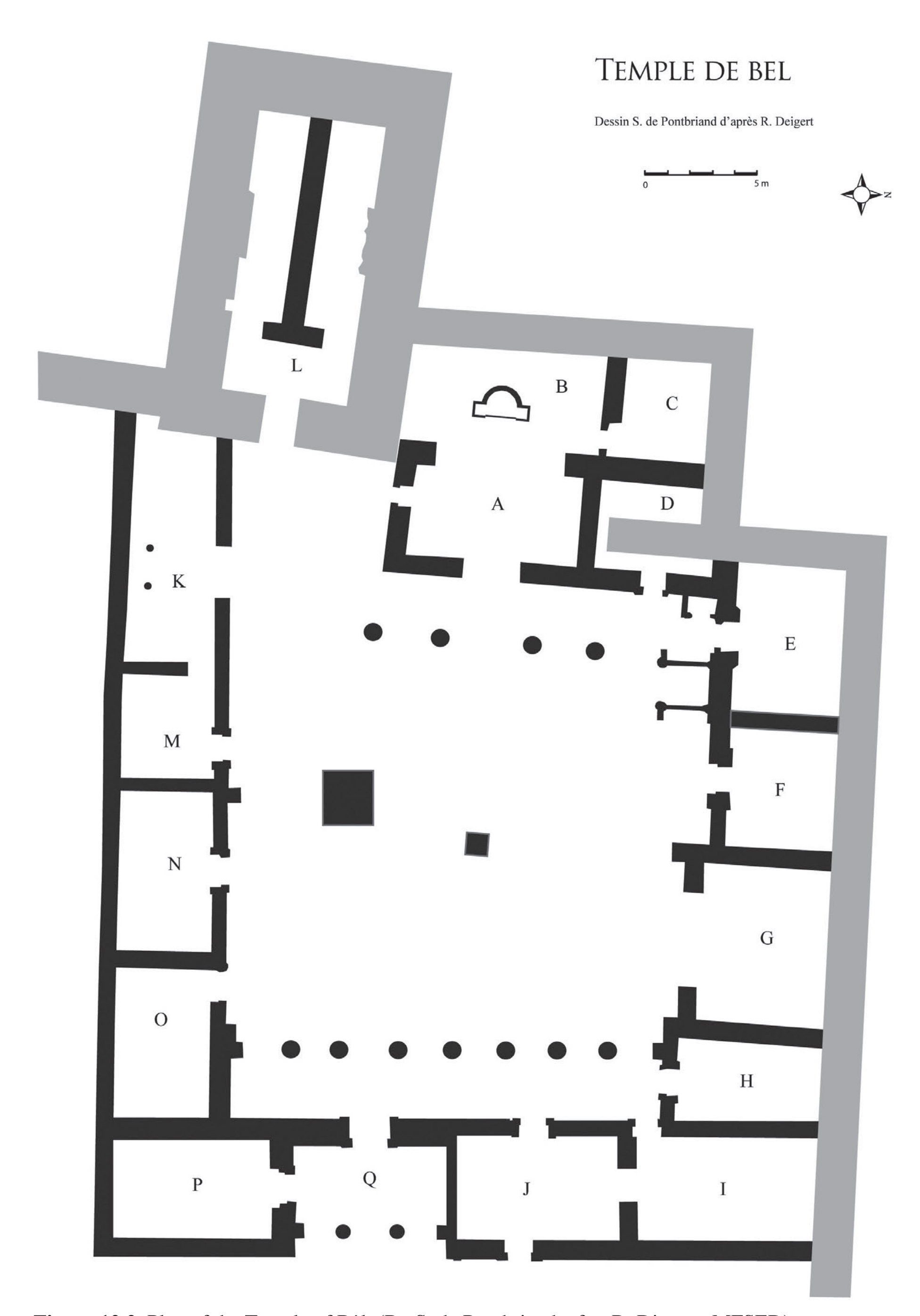


Figure 12.2. Plan of the Temple of Bêl. (By S. de Pontbriand, after R. Diegert; MFSED)

means of a series of gypsum stone column drums, still well in place.

Finally, in the naos and the pronaos, numerous test trenches from early excavations have destroyed the levels to a depth of 1.5 m below the original floor of the rooms, leaving only 50 cm at most of stratigraphy above the limestone bedrock.

Archaeological Study

In the areas of the naos that were not completely destroyed, multiple occupation levels, with built, hard-packed floors, have been revealed. Against the west wall of the naos (that is, the curtain wall north of Tower 1), an oven placed directly on the bedrock contained black ash mixed with fragments of plaster, seeds, plants, and charred sherds.[9] In the pronaos, the general situation was identical: an oven of the same type was revealed along the inside of the east wall of the pronaos, practically against the sill of the door of the temple (Plate 12.2).

After construction of the rampart, the entire area to the north of Tower 1 visibly gave the impression of similar activity linked to the ovens. Then the separation walls between the naos and pronaos and the front wall of the temple were built; their foundation trenches, easily seen, cut through the charcoal layers. The wall separating the naos and Room C rested on a floor of packed, ashy soil. The layers of ashes spread out also into Room E, where another oven must have been located, and under the northern *aedicula* of the courtyard.

To the north, the Hellenistic wall of ashlar masonry, established beyond the edge of the limestone bedrock on the geological gypsum substratum, forms a returning angle whose eastern side extends toward the south and abuts the edge of the limestone plateau under the floor of Room D. An exploratory trench was opened in Room D and on the eastern side of Room C in order to study the fill of the space between the edge of the limestone plateau and the wall of ashlar masonry. We were therefore able to observe that the fill is made up of a horizontal layer of gypsum fragments, not surpassing the level of the bottom of the limestone bedrock. Obviously, this filling is contemporaneous with the building of the city wall. Above this level, ashy soil regularly alternates with layers of highly mixed *juss* (local gypsum plaster) fragments and chips of gypsum (Plate 12.3). It is therefore clear that the ovens signal the first industrial activity in this area and predate the installation of the temple.

The function of these ovens is still being studied, in conjunction with analysis of the contents of other ovens of the same type discovered elsewhere in the city. But it is clear that they were not pottery kilns. The interim analysis of the ceramic materials found in the charcoal and ashy layers allows them to be dated after the end of the second century B.C.E., which confirms the dating of the construction of the walls of the Greek city.

In addition, we could detect a phase of occupation after operation of the ovens and prior to construction of the temple, since the charcoal layer is covered by a layer of collapsed bricks, originating from a structure predating the wall that separates the *naos* from Room C.

The area of the northwest corner of the precinct was therefore first occupied by ovens that produced a thick layer of ash. A brick structure (the first temple?) was built on this layer, followed by a structure with rubble walls that was built after the destruction of the brick building. This first rubble building, consisting of a simple naos (B), to which Room C was attached, also had a colonnade on the front. Later, the pronaos (A) and Room D would have been built, reusing the drums of the columns from the portico of the facade from the first stage at the base of the walls of the second stage.

Conclusion

All the observations gathered here create a picture of the occupation of the temple zone during the period extending from the final stages of the construction of the stone wall to the definitive construction of the Temple of Bêl. These observations complement publications by Franz Cumont and the Yale expedition by shedding new light on the stages of appropriation of this corner of the precinct by the Temple of Bêl. A new discovery is that certain aspects appear similar to those seen on the southern extremity of the west wall in the zone of the Temple of Aphlad. Further research is therefore anticipated.

Another important chronological element, the restoration project by the MFSED of the so-called Konon painting, currently in the National Museum of Damascus, has provided new information on the painting technique and on the repainting of this famous work, of which the dating and composition give rise to new questions (Leriche 2012).

A collaborative work dedicated to a reconsideration of the Temple of Bêl citing these projects and other recent research will be published soon.

The Sanctuary of Artemis

Excavated systematically first by Franz Cumont and then by the Yale expedition, this large civic sanctuary (H4) has been published only in bits and pieces, with plans that were fragmentary or too small in scale (Baur and Rostovtzeff 1931:17–18 [Pillet]; Baur et al. 1932:4–9, 11–13 [Pillet], 28–33 [Rowell]; Cumont 1926:169–205; Downey 1988:78–79, 89–92; Rostovtzeff, Bellinger et al. 1936:397–411). Due to its location, it has flooded every year, most of its masonry is in a disastrous state of preservation, and almost all of the votive monuments from the monumental entrance of the temple have collapsed (Plate 12.4). Since 1987 the MFSED has intervened regularly in several parts of the sanctuary that were threatened with ruin. In 2007 it was urgently necessary to rebuild the partially collapsed facade of Room D, to the north of the entrance of the temple, and to take action to save the monumental staircase of the temple entrance. All indications were that the temple was in peril.

A major project was therefore started in 2008 with the objective of developing a specific plan for the southern half of the sanctuary and finding material to clarify its history. Meanwhile, it was also necessary to strengthen the threatened portions of the sanctuary, to get the temple and its surroundings out of the water, and to protect them from the trampling of visitors. A

preliminary cleaning has allowed us to return the temple zone and main entrance of the sanctuary on the "sacred street" (*propylon*) to the state in which they were left by the old excavations. At the same time, the steps and the threshold of the monumental entrance to the temple have been carefully cleaned, rebuilt, and bolstered (Figure 12.3). In 2009 excavation and conservation projects in the entire sanctuary were undertaken.[10] In addition, to prevent rainwater from running back into the sanctuary, dams were constructed and fragile areas were protected. Unfortunately, in 2010 and 2011, this work could not be continued.

The Main Entrance of the Sanctuary

The official front wall of the sanctuary is made of gray mud bricks with a gray mortar sitting on a plinth of stone ashlar blocks. The wall is preserved up to 1 m in height in some places. The portal on the "sacred street" opens onto a large vestibule (known as the Propylées, or Room E), giving access via several stairs to the large courtyard that extends in front of the temple. The northern doorpost contains a reused drum from a good-quality Doric column. The pavement, made of large slabs of well-preserved gypsum, shows signs of fire damage (Figure 12.4).

To the north of this vestibule, Room S, of similar dimensions, is filled with 20 or so column drums that Frank Brown attributes to a preliminary, unfinished construction phase of the Hellenistic temple (Rostovtzeff, Bellinger et al. 1936:400–401)[11] The courtyard door of this room is framed by rectangular bases and two relatively well-preserved columns.

The Ancient Remains in the Large Courtyard

Between the vestibule and the temple itself extends a courtyard with a brick pavement, most of which has disappeared. In front of the entrance to the temple, a small altar made of six blocks of gypsum and a thick coat of *juss* was oriented to the east and not toward the temple.[12] This altar was dismantled and covered over by the brick pavement in the final stage. The altar was therefore desanctified.

Thin walls, passing under the walls of the temple itself and without relation to its plan, were interpreted by Frank Brown as belonging to a "precinct" laid out in the south–north direction, predating the temple (Rostovtzeff, Bellinger et al. 1936:407–411, figure 28). These walls were built with the support of gypsum orthostats, 40 to 50 cm long, 20 cm thick, and 30 cm high. Between these blocks, a rubble fill was held together with an earthen mortar. Brown's interpretation relies upon a comparison with the Delphinium of Miletus, but nothing on the ground supports this assertion.

The Monumental Gate of the Temple

The publication of Franz Cumont (1926) shows this entryway still well preserved, with its stone staircase and two rows of columns (*phalloi*), pillars, bases, and other architectural blocks in place, framing access to the temple portal. But the old excavations extending to the bedrock, and regular flooding, have weakened the soil layers upon which these votive elements rested, causing their collapse and degradation. We have returned some elements to their upright position; others still lie on

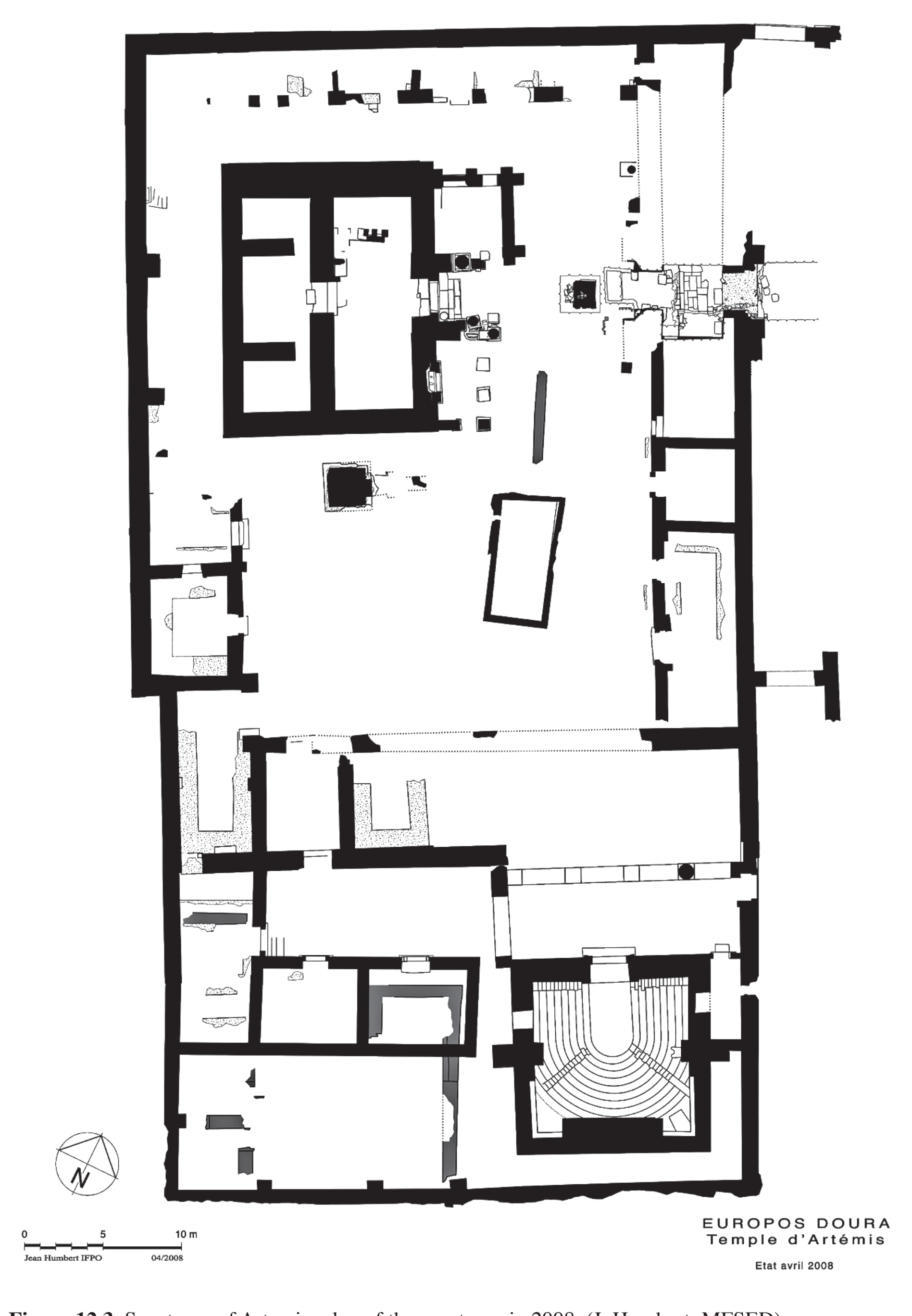


Figure 12.3. Sanctuary of Artemis: plan of the sanctuary in 2008. (J. Humbert; MFSED)



Figure 12.4. Sanctuary of Artemis: propylaea of the sanctuary and facade of the temple; view toward the west, 2009. (MFSED)

the ground but have been reinforced. The monumental steps of the temple entrance have also been cleared and reinforced.[13]

The Shrines of the Facade

The interior of the temple has not been excavated. This task was scheduled for the 2010 season and subsequently canceled. Instead, attention was focused on two *aediculae* of differing characters built against the temple facade, to the north and south of the monumental door.

The shrine to the north (Room D) has a square plan, with sides that are 6 m in length and doors on the north and south sides. It was the partial collapse of the eastern facade, built of blocks and capped with a mud brick structure, that triggered our intervention. The interior space was divided in two by a north–south wall. The western room contained two altars made of reused column drums in its basement. The north–south wall does not exist anymore, but the altars are preserved. The stone pavement, the pilasters, and two half columns at the entrance are also still preserved. The severely degraded masonry in this room has been restored according to the original construction techniques, in *juss* rubble to the east, north, and south and in clay and mud brick to the west.

The Chapelle d'Aphrodite (Space B), south of the entrance to the temple, is wider than it is deep (7 x 3 m). In the center of the back wall, a niche opens in the facade of the temple.[14] It was in this chapel that

the statue of Artemis, made of Parian marble and currently in the Louvre Museum, was found. One enters the chapel via two steps that were flanked by two fluted Doric columns, several portions of which were discovered in the fill. These columns were connected to the pillars at the corners by a thin partition. Some fragments of painted plaster with a floral motif were found here.[15]

The Vicinity of the Temple

There is a basin, roughly trapezoidal in shape, to the south of the pavement in the courtyard. Cumont (1926:189) interpreted it as a pool in which women frolicked like the Maioumas of ancient Rome.[16] In reality, the very rough manufacture of its masonry leads us to relate the presence of this basin to the large blocks of hard limestone spread around the temple.[17] At the risk of sounding prosaic, I propose to see in these blocks and the basin (and perhaps also in the column drums stored in Room S) the planning and materials for a major reconstruction of the temple, a project that could not be completed, probably due to the arrival of the Sassanians.

The remains of a stepped altar were found to the south of the temple. This altar was much larger than the one situated in front of the entrance to the temple and can be compared in its dimensions and placement relative to the temple to the altar of the Temple of Zeus Megistos. The altar in the Sanctuary of Artemis appears on the Yale plan as a homogenous construction but today shows evidence of two phases of construction (Figure 12.5). The first altar, made of stone blocks (4 x 4 m), was doubled in size by two layers of red brick faced with plaster on the north and west sides, which increased the dimensions to 7.5 m per side, with a staircase of 5 m.[18] The drum from a faceted column was reused in the foundation of this enlargement. We have therefore a preliminary phase of construction dating to the first period of the



Figure 12.5. Sanctuary of Artemis: the large south altar after cleaning; view to the southwest. (MFSED)

temple (end of the Hellenistic period, beginning of the Parthian) and a second phase dating to the end of the Parthian or to the Roman era. Similar to the Temple of Zeus Megistos, we here have evidence of a trend toward enlargement of the size of the altar, which appears to take on a greater importance in the ritual compared to the temple.

The Northwest Corner of the Perimeter Wall of the Sanctuary

To prevent rainwater from flowing into the sanctuary, old trenches at the foot of the periphery walls of the block were filled and degraded sections of the wall were rebuilt. As part of this project, the northwest corner of the wall, which had completely eroded to ground level, was partially rebuilt. A preliminary analysis showed that these corner walls were built of *juss* blocks, in the fill of which was found the reused drum of a faceted column, 50 cm tall, with a diameter of 60 cm. Against the north side of the corner, a rubble-made wheel guard projected out 50 cm. All these elements show that these two walls probably date to the late Parthian period or the Roman period.

The Construction Techniques

With a lack of absolute dates for the evolution of the temple and its sanctuary, the observation of construction techniques in the Sanctuary of Artemis supplies valuable information.

Two types of walls appear. The first type (A) has a base of stone blocks and an elevation of gray mud brick with gray mortar. All the walls of the temple itself are of this type, as are those of the Propylées (Room E) and the north and east walls of the adjacent rooms (Rooms S and F). This technique, dated to the Hellenistic and the High Parthian periods, is found on the walls of the city and the Palace of the Strategos. The small altar and the first altar to the south are also made of stone blocks.

The second technique (B) is characterized by a base made of *juss* rubble and an elevation of gray mud bricks with gray mortar. This technique is used in all the other buildings and can probably be attributed to the Parthian period rather than the Roman period, when the rubble technique was used with red mud bricks, which are missing here (except for the second stage of the altar to the south and on the northwest corner).

Conclusion

The construction techniques and the plan of the temple allow us to date this building to the Hellenistic period. This is also the only one that presents the classic arrangement of rooms for this period in the Near East, with the large pronaos and naos flanked by two adjoining rooms.[19] It is quite surprising that a mud-brick construction of this relatively less hardy quality could have survived for some four centuries. We understand that a reconstruction projection was implemented at the time of the Sassanian conquest. The rest of the sanctuary was obviously built up gradually during the Parthian period, with the construction of rubble walls for the peripheral rooms along the walls outside the main block.

Changes in religious practices can be read on the ground: shrines came to hide the facade of the temple; a room with

tiered seating was added and then removed; the original altar was dismantled and replaced to the south by a second altar, larger and oriented in a different direction.[20] We can therefore put our finger on the highly dynamic and constantly evolving architectural conceptions of the polytheism at Europos-Dura.

The Temple of the Gaddé

This sanctuary is located on the southern side of the main street, at the corner where it intersects with Street H, facing the triumphal arch that marks the eastern end of the main street (H1). Discovered at the very end of the eighth season (1934–1935) of the American–French expedition, this sanctuary was excavated as part of an emergency operation by Frank Brown, for which he stayed at the site for two additional weeks after the end of the season (Rostovtzeff, Brown et al. 1936:218–283).

This temple, called "fondouk des Palmyréniens" by Rostovtzeff, was laid out in a block of previously built houses. It would have reached its definitive stage (Stage IV) in 159, the date given to three cultic reliefs discovered there. The plan drawn up and signed by Frank Brown in 1935 shows a building consisting of two parts of equal importance: the temple itself to the south, and a building associated with the "salle à gradins" to the north. Curiously, the components of the plan of the latter are in the form of diamonds, with no 90-degree angles (Figure 12.6).

An investigation of this double religious building was prompted in 2000 by the urgent need to save several masonry

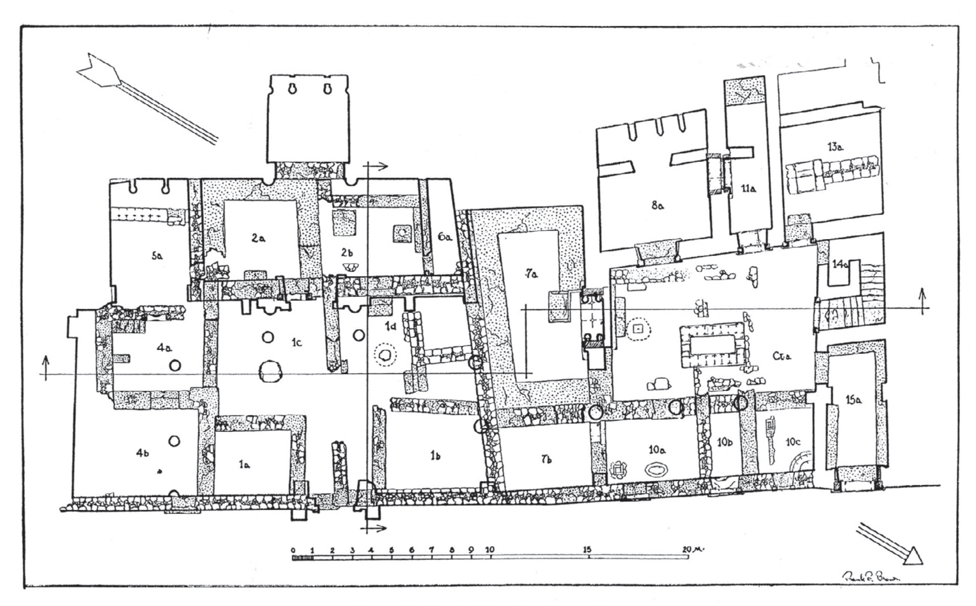


Figure 12.6. Plan of the Temple of the Gaddé. (F. Brown; Yale University Art Gallery)

structures that were in peril. After cleaning and excavation, with the goal of dating the various architectural phases, numerous walls were strengthened and a collapsed wall (between 13a and 12–11a) was rebuilt over a length of 5 m and a height of 3 m.[21]

It was at this time that the peripheral walls of the sanctuary, which appear as either simple lines on the Yale plans (Rostovtzeff, Brown et al. 1936:231, "working plan," figure 56) or as curious jagged lines (Rostovtzeff, Brown et al., 1936:ground plan of the final phase [IV] of the sanctuary, figure 67), were studied. We also sought to clarify placement of the temple in Block H1, to identify any annexes, and to establish the relationship of the temple to the main street. It subsequently became apparent that Brown's excavation was incomplete and that the plan of the northern sector was not entirely accurate.

The zone of the excavation was therefore extended up to 10 m from north to south and from east to west. We were then able to locate the northeast and northwest corners of Block H1 and situate the temple more precisely. The adjoining rooms of the peripheral houses on the south and the west were excavated, and a few errors were corrected.[22] More importantly, we conducted a new survey and verified that the northern walls were orthogonal. The Yale plans were clearly flawed, and the reason was probably due to an error made by Frank Brown while using surveying instruments (probably a planchette with an alidade) that he had not yet mastered. (He was alone on the site.)

Such an error on the part of a newly trained archaeologist is understandable. But one wonders why these surveys from the spring of 1935 were not corrected at some point in the final two years of the Yale expedition (1935–1936 and 1936–1937) and why they were published as is in 1939. As a result, all subsequent publications dealing with this sanctuary are based on an erroneous plan. We present here a new plan of the site (Figure 12.7), pending finalization of the new publication on this temple.

The Sanctuary of Aphlad

This sanctuary, built in the southwest corner of the city (N8), was excavated and identified in the fourth and fifth seasons of the Yale expedition (Baur et al. 1933:14–15; Rostovtzeff et al. 1934:98–104, 113–116).[23] The excavation yielded a dozen altars and pedestals of various sizes, numbered from 9 to 18, distributed without apparent order in the midst of a series of rooms juxtaposed on one side and the other of a small, rectangular structure called the naos. On the general plan that accompanies the text, one can see that there is no true *temenos* wall and that, at the time of the plan, the area under investigation was limited to the sanctuary (Rostovtzeff et al. 1934).

The dedicatee of the sanctuary was identified thanks to the discovery, in a room lined with benches known as the *andron* (Room 1), of an attractive low-relief sculpture naming the god Aphlad and bearing a list of names of his faithful followers. Clark Hopkins, who published this site, briefly described the sanctuary and focused most of his attention on the description of the bas-relief sculpture and a Greek inscription dating to 54 C.E.



Figure 12.7. Plan of the Temple of the Gaddé. (J. Humbert; MFSED)

The degradation of the masonry in the *andron* and of the altars and pedestals (some of which were buried in the embankment of a Decauville track) necessitated a cleaning, study, and salvage operation in the sanctuary from 2007 to 2009. It was discovered that the published plan was incomplete, which changes the image and interpretation of the sanctuary.

The first piece of evidence to emerge is that the excavation of this sector was much more expanded to the north than on the plan and that the *aediculae* that form the northern limit of the sanctuary were actually incorporated into Block N8. Two plans made after the fifth season record this fact,[24] but the plan of the sanctuary itself was not modified. On the ground, the sanctuary appears in fact not as a closed ensemble but as a free occupation of space between the corner of the enclosure and Block N8. We are probably here in a quarter belonging to the followers of Anath, who installed their altars, pedestals, and cult structures in an open area. In this context, there was no need of a *temenos,* and its absence should no longer surprise us. At most, we can imagine a boundary wall to the east, along Street A (north–south), a wall that was destroyed during the defensive buildup of the walls before the Sassanian siege.

Another notable fact: the presence of a mud-brick oven that was visible on the Yale plans (19) near the southeast corner of Tower 14—the role of which seems to have gone unnoticed. The oven seems to have functioned until the final period of the city, if we can judge by the considerable thickness of the layers of ash in this sector. It is possible that the followers of Anath shared a common craft and formed a group that was publicly affirmed by the existence of the sanctuary.

We can also see that the Yale excavations continued farther to the south of the naos, in the space between the edge of the limestone slab of the plateau and the corner of the fortification.[25] All that stood between Tower 13 and Tower 14 has disappeared, but this is not on the plan.

The comparison of the plan with the archaeological reality also reveals two distinctive features of the terrain that might have played a role in the cult: a small, natural, north–south wadi and also a natural depression (now filled) between altars/pedestals 10, 14, and 15. The presence of the wadi, 16 m long, which cuts the sanctuary in two and passes under the interior tower (Tower 13), was known to the Yale expedition because R. du Mesnil du Buisson indicates its existence with great precision in a sketch published in 1944,[26] but we don't know if this wadi played a role in the functioning of the sanctuary (Figure 12.8).

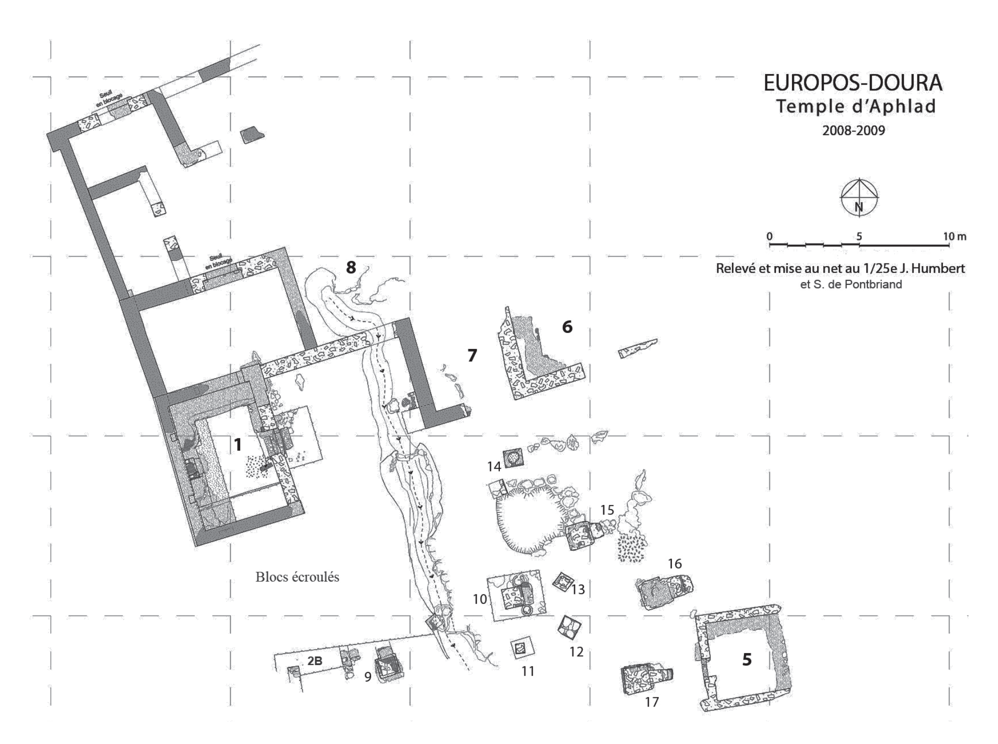


Figure 12.8. Sanctuary of Aphlad: general plan. (J. Humbert; MFSED)

Regarding the elements of the sanctuary, the cleaning of the *andron* has again drawn attention to the axial altar, the benches that run around the room, and a gravel floor.[27] A sounding revealed the existence of many layers of gravel, about 25 cm thick, which suggests long-term use of this room. In addition, the cleaning of the northern wall of the deep trench between Tower 13 and Tower 14 revealed that the base of the south wall of Naos 2A–2B rests on a thick layer of ashes accumulated on the limestone slab. This naos would therefore be a late building.

Consequently, it would be the *andron* that was the oldest shrine around which the sanctuary was organized and not the naos, which Hopkins considered to be the temple itself. As for the altars and pedestals in the area, the ancient layers have disappeared, depriving us of any means of dating them.

Finally, we note that after the removal of the interior embankment by the Yale excavation, Tower 14, undermined by the Sassanians, tipped toward the inside of the city. Its eastern face has therefore partially collapsed, covering the entire area east of the tower with an impressive mound of ashlars and crushing the oven, which totally disappeared. To stabilize the eastern face of the tower, we built a buttress and a buttress arch in 1986. Therefore, almost the entire southwestern corner of the area is no longer able to be analyzed (Figure 12.9).

Sanctuaries Not Published by the Yale Expedition

The Temple of Zeus Megistos

The archaeological research conducted by Susan Downey since 1992 on the Temple of



Figure 12.9. Sanctuary of Aphlad: general view from the top of the west wall; view to the southeast. (MFSED)

Zeus Megistos (C3), one of two main temples in the city, has already been mentioned in our article in *Topoi* (Leriche 1997a:890–892). Since then, the work has continued steadily, with occasional help from some members of the expedition (Figure 12.10).[28] The results have been regularly described by Susan Downey herself in intermediate publications (Downey 1997, 2000 [in particular 158–160], 2004a, 2004b).

In her latest article, Susan Downey (2012:65) confirms her complete disagreement with the phases identified in Frank Brown's preparatory manuscript:

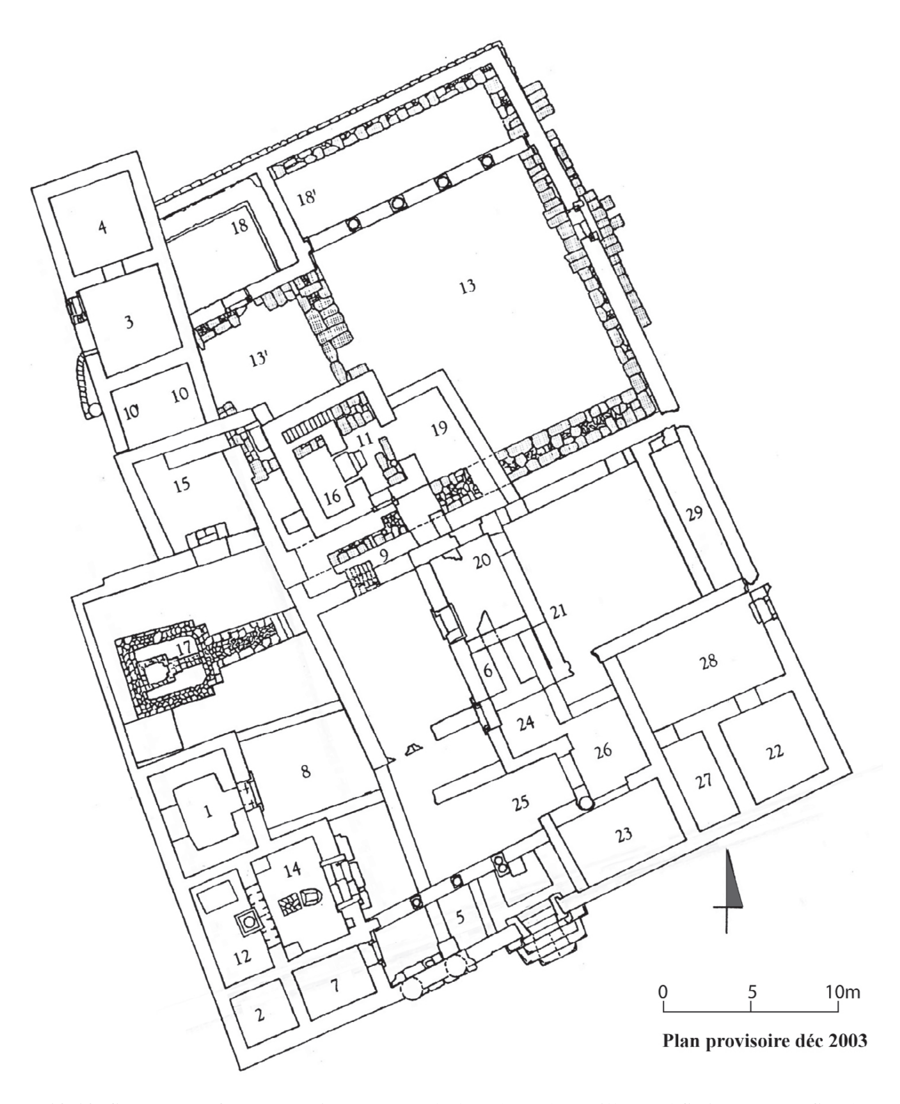


Figure 12.10. Sanctuary of Zeus Megistos: general plan. (P. Lebouteiller and S. Appert; MFSED)

"My excavations have demonstrated that his interpretations of the earliest remains were based on misunderstandings and incomplete evidence." She takes into account the new chronology of the creation of the city, beginning in the middle of the second century B.C.E., which makes all previous speculations about the earliest phases of the temples of Europos-Dura obsolete. Basing her argument on observations in the field, she identifies six phases of construction, of which the first several (I, I.A, II) belong to a different building than the temple and the last (VI) is a late construction of three rooms with a rural function (stables?) to the west.

The first phase of the actual temple (III) is similar to those dedicated to Aphlad, Zeus Kyrios, Bêl, Artemis, Atargatis, and Azzanathkona and was built during the same time period: the turn of the century. The last major phase of the temple (V) follows the earthquake in 160.

The sculptures discovered in the temple have been the subject of a special study by Susan Downey (Downey 1988). The final publication of this new research on the Temple of Zeus Megistos will soon be submitted to the publisher.

Finally, it should be noted that the Temple of Zeus Megistos was the subject of several reinforcement measures that prevented the collapse of the entrance and the periphery walls of the central naos (16 and 11); the large altar in the west; the southwestern chapel; and, to the south, the twin columns and the monumental entrance on Street 5 (Figure 12.11).



Figure 12.11. Sanctuary of Zeus Megistos; view of the naos, looking west, before consolidation. (MFSED)

The North Temple (X9)

This temple, discovered during the ninth season of the Yale expedition, was not mentioned by any of the Yale publications. We briefly described it in 1997, but in 1998 plans to conduct further excavations had to be abandoned in favor of an emergency operation to save the necropolis, which was threatened by building projects. Work could be resumed only in 2004 in the form of a two-week campaign of cleaning, review, and reinforcement that uncovered new elements of certain interest (Figure 12.12).

Among these elements, the layout of the building was characterized by a large courtyard with two rooms (à banquettes) in the west, framed by two other rooms situated on the western side of two porticoes that border the courtyard on the north and south. Such a plan, relatively original, recalls that of the Temple of the Gaddé (Figure 12.13). Additionally, the recent work has resulted in the discovery of an altar, 2.8 m long, preceded in the west by a 2-m-long staircase that was located to the east, in front of the main entrance to the temple. As at the Temple of Atargatis, the altar was oriented so that it faced the worshippers, with its back toward the heart of the building.

All of these elements lead us to believe that we are dealing with a religious building.

This brief campaign also revealed that the sanctuary was not isolated to the west but was integrated into a residential complex, as is often the case at Europos-Dura.



Figure 12.12. The North Temple (X9); general view to the southwest. (MFSED)

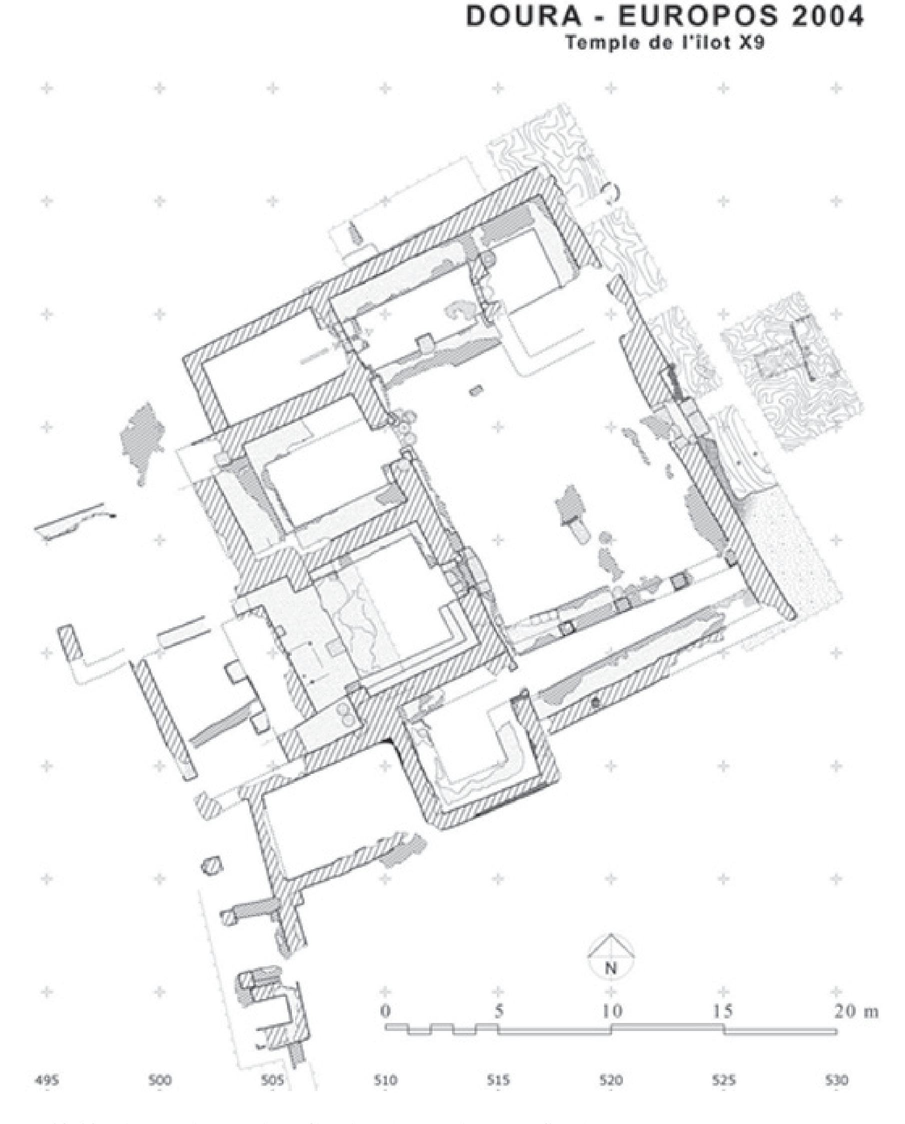


Figure 12.13. The North Temple (X9): plan. (J. Humbert; MFSED)

Also, the altar had been systematically destroyed and its pieces were laid in the same location and carefully arranged. It is clear that we have here an activity related to the desanctification of the temple.

The masonry was not preserved over a height of 30 to 40 cm. Aside from several drums from a fluted Doric column, no inscription, graffito, or painting that would allow identification of the deity to whom

the temple was dedicated was found in the temple.[29]

The fairly abundant ceramic materials that were gathered clearly came from the fill of collapsed external walls. The analysis of this material and that from a stratigraphic excavation in the foundation trench of the wall of the north facade has clarified the timeline for the sanctuary. Its construction appears to have originated at the turn of the era, and the period of use lasted through the entire Parthian period.[30]

We are therefore entitled to hypothesize that when the Roman army seized the northern part of the city to establish its camp, the presence of the temple at X9 was deemed inconsistent with the operation of the camp. It was at this time that the building would have been destroyed, after having been desacralized, presumably to be installed elsewhere. This, in general, is a process that is rarely seen as clearly as it is here.[31]

Discoveries of the MFSED

Additional projects in the areas not previously excavated or on buildings that have not already been studied, whether religious or not, have also provided information of great interest to the religious domain. Two new places of worship and three new representations of deities have been discovered.

Two New Sanctuaries

The "Main Street Sanctuary"

The "Main Street Sanctuary" (M5) was already presented in our article in *Topoi* (Leriche 1997a). We therefore simply note here the new elements in the study and the additional bibliography from the MFSED (Allag 2004; Bounni 1997; Dandrau 2004; Leriche 1997c; Rousselle 2004). This fieldwork, opened in 1992, was maintained continuously until 1997 and was the subject of detailed studies on the decoration and the stratigraphy of the cult chamber. In 1998 it was necessary to stop the excavation, and it was only in 2003 and 2004 that the work could be restarted to obtain a stratigraphy of the occupation of the cult chamber and to identify the various phases of the sanctuary (Coqueugniot 2012b). At the same time, the wall of the facade on the street was the subject of a careful study.

It then became clear that the "salle à banquette" had known a long existence before being converted into an arsenal, as evidenced by the many repairs to the bench on either side of the altar. The room had previously experienced a major transformation, as shown by the discovery, also in the north wall of the room, of the remains of a door to the west of the one from the first phase (blocked by a mud-brick wall). In a third period, this second door was replaced by the door of the last phase, exactly in the middle of the north wall of the room that was converted into a sanctuary. The threshold of the intermediate door is higher than the previous one but well below that of the door in the final phase. It is unclear what the function of the room was during this intermediate phase.

A New Temple at the Foot of the Citadel

A new religious edifice appeared at the foot of the citadel, to the south of its northwest tower, during the 2011 campaign. It

is a small temple dedicated to Zeus, where wall painting fragments were found but which was only partially excavated.

The circumstances of these discoveries are related to the implementation, since 2008, of a major salvage project of the western wall of the citadel. This project involved the digging of a 50-m-long trench at the foot of the wall to install a drainage system in order to dry out and reinforce the base of the wall (Figure 12.14).

At the time of the 2010 campaign, the trench, entirely dug by hand, had reached a length of about 20 m and a depth of approximately 5 m.[32] In 2011 the trench was extended to the south about 25 m, which means to the end of the preserved elevation of the citadel wall being reinforced. The project allowed for the discovery of significant occupation levels, rich in ceramic materials that were well stratified, particularly for the Parthian period.

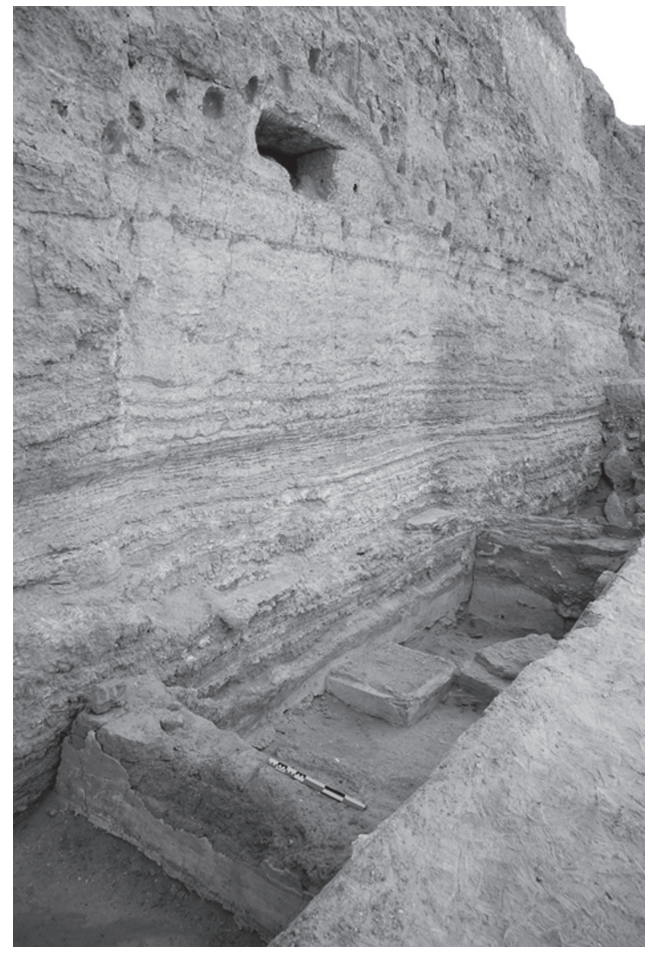


Figure 12.14. Citadel Temple of Zeus, at the end of 2011 season; view to the southeast. (MFSED)

Above all, in the southern part of this trench, two east–west mud-brick walls appeared below the surface, built against the front of the quarry that bears the wall of the citadel and separated by a little more than 6 m. An area of excavation was therefore defined between these two walls, with a western limit established 7 m west from the foot of the citadel. The careful work conducted here led to the discovery of the base of a *juss* altar built against the face of the rock and of numerous fragments of wall paintings resting on the ground, between the altar and the south wall of the building.

These paintings are in a fragmentary state, but it is easy to recognize a religious scene with many people dressed in the Roman style, standing facing the spectator, with one hand raised with the palm held forward (Plate 12.5). Three bands of color highlight the connection between the walls and the ceiling. Three *dipinti* in the name of Zeus were painted in red, with a very carefully drawn preparatory line. This is why we decided to call this building the Citadel Temple of Zeus to distinguish it from the three other temples dedicated to Zeus in the ancient city on the plateau: Zeus Megistos (C9), Zeus Kyrios (M8-N7), and Zeus Theos (B3)—and perhaps a fourth with the Temple of Bêl (Zeus Megistos).

Thanks to traces of mounting beams visible on the rocky face of the citadel, the elevation of this temple could be easily restored. It is a building similar to a Roman temple from the west, with a gabled roof under which a vault was created. The internal width (north–south) is 4.3 m, but the length (east–west) is not yet known because of the presence of a collapsed wall covering the western half of the surface of the temple. We have not excavated this masonry, leaving completion of this task for the next season.

One question could not be resolved: that of the construction technique of this temple, in which the gray mud-brick walls rest directly on the ground, without either foundation stones or *juss* rubble. This is exceptional at Europos-Dura.

Inside the temple, the upper part of the altar on top of the base has been systematically destroyed, and the resultant pieces spread in the same location. This could indicate that this religious building was deconsecrated, but the reason remains to be determined. Afterward, but apparently much later, a block from the citadel wall fell on the building, breaking through the roof and damaging the southwest corner of the altar base, while other blocks collapsed to the south of the temple, damaging part of the south wall of the building.

Before the end of the season, the remains of this new temple were completely reburied to prevent vandalism.

It is too early to speak of the significance of the painted scenes, fragments of which occupy 28 square racks, about 50 cm^2 each. These fragments are very fragile because the binding agent, probably organic, has disappeared, and the pigments rest freely on the *juss* surface. Fortunately, we were able to benefit from the emergency intervention of a conservator from the National Museum of Damascus, who stabilized the pictorial layer, even before the cleaning.

These paintings are the work of a talented artist, using varied colors, with a good sense of the expressivity of the faces and a very good quality of letter drawing. In style, these paintings are among the most westernized ones of the site, very close to the famous representation of the sacrifice of the tribune Terentius at the head of his officers, which was found in the pronaos of the great Temple of Bêl. They belong evidently to the final period of the city. This is confirmed by the associated ceramics and by the presence of two lamps datable to the first half of the third century C.E.

The proper study of this exceptional material was supposed to have been conducted during the 2012 season with wall painting specialists from the Damascus Museum and a specialized French laboratory. Current dramatic circumstances, unfortunately, have made it impossible to realize this project.

Religious Iconography

Three new pieces of religious sculpture have been found in Europos-Dura during the 10 last seasons of work.

During the 2001 season, two Roman houses, superficially cleared in 1930–1931, were excavated down to the foundations. These houses, identified as shops, were located in a ravine that overlooks the palace of the Strategos, in Block C5 on the southern edge of the main east–west street. They were selected to be the subject of an experimental reconstruction with ancient materials and techniques and to host the site museum. It was during this excavation that a new fragment of a Heracles sculpture and a mold of an Aphrodite statuette of unquestionable interest were found.

The Bas-Relief of Heracles

A gypsum stone fragment of a bas-relief of Heracles, 20 cm tall and 14 cm wide, was found in the fill of a foundation trench of the first phase of the wall close to the north facade of the western sector of the building. It could therefore be dated to the Parthian period.

This fragment, carved in high relief but in a rough manner, depicts the stomach, genitals, and thighs of the hero in frontal position. A lion skin is easily distinguished hanging vertically on the left side. The identification is therefore not a problem. This type of local stone sculpture is very common at Europos-Dura. It is obvious that this piece was produced locally (Figure 12.15).

It is also clear that we are dealing with an unfinished work, roughed out but not finished or polished. This could be a piece that was broken during the production process or judged unsatisfactory and rejected after having been broken.

The presence of this fragment of bas-relief, drafted but not completed, implies that there was a sculptor's workshop nearby, producing stone statues of gods, rather than a location where Heracles was worshipped. The source of the stone, undoubtedly close, had to be one of the many quarries that functioned in the large wadi inside the city, across from the citadel or at its foot.

Sculptures representing Heracles are common in Europos-Dura, to the point that Susan Downey devoted an entire monograph to the subject (Downey 1969). Our



Figure 12.15. Bas-relief of Heracles from Block C5. (MFSED)

example is quite commonplace in its mode of representation, similar to the bas-relief discovered in the street along the western wall (L8W).[33] It does, however, stand out because of its size, possibly taller than 60 cm, which would make it comparable to the Heracles with lion from the Temple of Zeus Megistos.[34]

Mold of an Aphrodite Statuette

The mold was found in the rubble of a collapsed ceiling from a room of the final phase on the southwestern side of the same block as the Heracles sculpture. The material in the layer of rubble could not date earlier than the end of the Parthian or early Roman period (second century C.E.).

It is a simple mold, univalve, 17 cm long, made for producing terra-cotta plaques according to a well-known technique, particularly at Europos-Dura (see Downey 2003) or Susa (see Martinez-Sève 2002). It was made by stamping a statuette—probably bronze judging from the finesse of certain details of the chest and the hairstyle—and was clumsily retouched to represent the right hand (Figure 12.16).

The young female figure, in low relief, is shown standing, facing forward, leaning on her right leg, with the left leg resting on a molded base. Her right hand



Figure 12.16. Statuette mold from Block C5. (MFSED)

is placed flat against her hip, and the left elbow is leaning on a column, of which only the Ionic volute capital is visible. The left hand holds a globe in high relief. The chest appears partially, and the lower body is draped in a cloak that falls in oblique folds. Her head is crowned by a *stéphanè*, with a fringe of rounded beads on the upper edge, from which curly strips escape.

This piece is superior in quality to the majority of terra-cottas found at Europos-Dura and can be compared by its typically Hellenistic or Hellenistic-Roman style to the terra-cotta figurine of Hermes as a child from Tomb 24 and dated to the second century C.E.,[35] or perhaps to the female head found on the surface of the main street. This representation can also be compared to other productions of the Hellenistic period of the Venus de Milo type. In this domain, as in painting, one can speak of a coexistence of two currents. But this is a classic debate: elite art/popular art or ancient art/"late" art. This is not the place to engage in this discussion.

The mold was rejected as a failure because of its inadequate relief and, probably, because of the mediocre quality of its firing.[36]

A New Bas-Relief of the God of Cameleers

A small bas-relief depicting a warrior riding a camel was found by chance in April 2010, about 20 m outside the northern breach through which the Ottoman road enters the city. It was found in the middle of a spoil heap from earlier excavations, dumped in the northern wadi, the path of which turns back toward the south and protects the two farthest towers of the western wall of the city.

It is a small, thin slab of gypsum stone, broken on different sides, measuring in its current state 29.5 cm high, 28 cm wide, and 10.5 cm in thickness. The upper part of the body of the cameleer, seated on the dromedary, has been hammered, but we can guess that he had a Parthian hairstyle, that he held the bridle with his left hand, and that he faced the viewer. The right arm is missing. A piece of iron rod, inserted at the height of the hand that holds the reins, indicates that the figure was holding a metal object, either a weapon or a symbolic object (Figure 12.17).

The head and part of the neck of the camel have been broken, as well as the bottom of the legs. But the representation in high relief of the body of the animal; the treatment of the harness (with a beaded braid); and the impedimenta of the figure, including a portable altar, are of



Figure 12.17. New bas-relief of the god of the cameleers. (MFSED)

excellent quality. An elongated vertical scroll form, which might be interpreted as the tail of a horse or smoke rising from an incense burner—two typical images from Europos-Dura, appears in the lower right corner. The background is very well fashioned. Several traces of writing, apparently Palmyrene, appear in the lower right portion, but the letters are partly covered by brownish adhesions. This is the third bas-relief of the god of the cameleers discovered at Europos-Dura, but it is also by far the most refined and nearest to Greek sculptural traditions (see Downey 1977).

The upper half of the human figure, the rear of the camel, and the entire lower right area are covered with an earthy, orange, hardened film that hinders interpretation of the imagery. In addition, the bas-relief is covered in places by very hard, ancient black *juss,* which indicates that it was used as construction material in an ancient rubble wall.

The spoil heap in the middle of which this bas-relief was found originated from the removal of a pile of earth left near the southern side of the Temple of Bêl—probably the spoil heap from the clearing of this temple in 1923. There is therefore every reason to believe that the relief comes from the Temple of Bêl, where it might have served as construction material, possibly during construction of the final stage of the building. As a result, we now know that among the many Palmyrene deities represented in the Temple of Bêl, there was also a god of the cameleers, who is naturally identified with Arsu.

This bas-relief of exceptional quality has been handed over to the DGAMS to be cleaned by a professional restorer in the laboratory of the National Museum of Damascus, with the goal of facilitating its definitive publication and display in the museum.

New Studies in the Framework of MFSED

The Gods of the Polytheism of Europos-Dura

In a doctoral thesis presented at the Sorbonne in 2009, M.-E. Duchâteau questioned the nature of the deities attested at Europos-Dura by comparing them with those of Greco-Roman and Near Eastern polytheisms (Duchâteau 2013). This synthesis on the pantheon at Europos-Dura is based upon written documents, iconography, and archaeology. It analyzes the various processes at the origin of the singularity, or lack thereof, of the personalities and identities of the deities in a city with a social and political history as unique as Europos-Dura. It supports, in fact, new chronological data that places the birth of the city of Europos not at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., as was previously thought, but rather at the middle of the second century B.C.E., which reduces the Hellenistic stage of the city life to a half century. This explains the importance of the Syro-Mesopotamian aspect of the population in a society nevertheless controlled until the period of Romanization by a Macedonian contingent, in a context faithful to Hellenism, lasting through the long Parthian domination (close to three centuries).

Aphlad, Singular and Misunderstood God of Europos-Dura

During the course of her research, M.-E. Duchâteau wrote a special article about Aphlad-Apalados, whose beautiful bas-relief dating to 54 C.E. was found in a sanctuary located in the southwest corner of the city. The issue addressed in this article is similar to that of her overall research: the god Aphlad is almost a "religious hapax," whose sole place of worship known to date is in Europos-Dura. His personality, however, is similar to that of other deities in the region. To understand his identity, it is necessary to gather all the epigraphic and archaeological sources in the city that relate to the god. Then one can analyze the worship of the god, his organization, and his followers in Europos-Dura, as well as the relationship he had with other gods in the city, such as Azzanathkona, who came from the same village as Aphlad.

Protections, Deconsecrations, and the End of the City

The discovery of the deconsecration of the cult chamber dedicated to Bêl along the main street, at the time of the siege of the city (Leriche 1997a), combined with the revelation of the complete abandonment of a temple in X9, in the Roman camp, drew attention to a phenomenon little studied until now: the deconsecration of religious buildings in Europos-Dura. It was at this time that our attention was drawn to similar cases presented by other cult monuments, in particular those monuments buried under the embankment against the western wall on the eve of the Sassanian siege that ended the life of the city. A veritable reflection has developed around this issue, generally poorly studied and for which Europos-Dura supplies a number of very clear examples. It is in answer to this question that G. Coqueugniot makes her detailed contribution in two recent articles (Coqueugniot 2012a; Leriche et al. 2011). Different types of deconsecration or protection are described in the great Temple of Bêl, in the temple on the main street, in the temples of Zeus Theos and Aphlad, and in the unpublished temple in the Roman camp (X9), as well as in the mithraeum, the synagogue, and the Christian house.

General Conclusion

The new chronology of the history of the city has shed new light in all areas. By its plan and its general structure, the city of Europos-Dura shows clearly that this military colony was designed by the Macedonian power as a populating settlement. But we know now that this new city was not founded until the middle of the second century B.C.E. and that it existed for only a half century under Seleucid authority.[37] Once captured by the Parthians in about 113–110 B.C.E., the city did not attract any new Greek colonists. The descendants of the garrison of the original *phrourion,* founded around 303 by Nicanor, were too few in number to fill the space circumscribed by the city wall and were faced with the difficulty of functioning as such a small settlement. It was thus decided that the city would welcome populations from peripheral regions. These non-Greek immigrants settled in groups of diverse origins and imported their own

cults. But it was not until the end of the first century B.C.E. that these groups were granted the right to build cult places *intra muros*. A new stage was reached when the immigrants, acting on the inutility of the Greek city walls, received the right (around 30 C.E.?) to build their temples against these walls. The concomitance of the dedication dates of cult images in the non-Macedonian temples or sanctuaries is indeed striking.[38] It reveals, without a doubt, the effect of successive official decisions of the local authority, *epistatès* and *strategos,* or, already, *strategos kai epistatès*.

This reminds us that when studying the religious architecture of Europos-Dura, there must be a clear distinction between the civic cult places, such as the temples of Artemis and Zeus Megistos on one side and the religious buildings from the Roman era linked to the army (the military temple, mithraeum, and dolicheneum) or not (the Christian House Church, the tychaion?) on another side, and all the other temples and/or sanctuaries linked to a particular community. In this last case, the cult building has a function that is beyond the scope of religion only. It is the central place of a community that has come to settle in Europos-Dura. It is through this shared cult building that the internal bonds of these immigrant groups, who have brought with them their beliefs and their rituals, are kept alive, even if they have to make up the image before which they practice their cult.

This building is also the public, visible sign—the *sêma*—of the existence of this community in front of other communities and in front of the *establishment* of the descendants of the first Macedonian settlers in the city, jealously guarding their prerogatives. In this scenario, how could anybody imagine an eventual competition between the different cult buildings of the polytheism in Europos-Dura?[39] Unlike the militant monotheisms, they were not trying to recruit new believers. On the contrary, they were asserting themselves as constituent groups in the city with their own personality, which needed to be officially recognized as such—an attitude above all typical for any group formed in the face of a dominant power, especially during this time period, and of course in the present Near East.

It is probably this aspect (and not any exacerbated religious feeling that would be unique to this city) that explains the presence of such a large number of cult places in Europos-Dura: 19 in a quarter of the excavated area!

The last point that seems to me paramount to emphasize pertains to the changing nature of the forms of cultic expression that we see but that are still difficult to date precisely. That concerns architectural aspects such as the form of the cult place—an isolated temple or one in a courtyard sanctuary—or the form of the naos, which seems to evolve toward the simplicity of a nave without internal division or the appearance then the disappearance of the *salles à gradins* (Arnaud 1997). That concerns also modifications of the placement, orientation, and size of the altars; the nature and style of the decoration; the deconsecrations; and many other aspects.

The artistic production, largely tied to this effervescence, was clearly happening in the workshops of the city: quality sculptors working, occasionally with talent, gypsum, a premier raw material from the site; coroplaths producing terra-cottas of uneven quality; some painters with a steady hand and others more labored. The contrast is great between certain works in tune with production from the Hellenistic *koine* or the Roman world, and others with a coarseness that seems to reflect the popular attachment to old oriental or Hellenistic-Parthian canons.

Europos-Dura appears therefore as an exceptional historical witness that allows us to experience firsthand the place, role, and function of religion for at least four centuries, in a Near Eastern city subjected to three successive rulers, with a diverse and composite population, whose particularities, differences, and lines of separation gradually fade in the mold of Romanization.

Finally, regarding the fate of the religious buildings after the Sassanian conquest, it was long assumed that the city had suffered significant burning and destruction. This view could seem confirmed by the traces of fire in the Temple of Artemis and, possibly, since the 2011 excavations, by the destruction of the Temple of Zeus discovered at the foot of the citadel, where obviously the altar underwent significant destruction that could perhaps be attributed to the Sassanians. However, such an attitude cannot have been too widespread, and several temples were undoubtedly simply abandoned. How else can you explain that certain bas-reliefs or certain religious sculptures, such as the bas- relief of Atargatis and Haddad originating from the Temple of Azzanathkona or the monumental head of Zeus from the Temple of Zeus Megistos, present indisputable evidence of extensive rain erosion?[40] Obviously, the Sassanians did not engage in systematic iconoclasm in Europos-Dura.

Acknowledgments

Hommage au Professor Susan Downey, membre éminent de la MFSED dès sa création et qui a tenu à être présente à Europos-Doura en 2011.

Notes

1 Recent discoveries have shown that the city, founded as Europos in the Seleucid period, retained this name until the second quarter of the third century C.E. Then, under Roman rule, the name was changed to Dura, the name of the place before creation of the Seleucid colony. But we have two official documents, dated from 251 and 254 C.E., written in a city that is clearly Colonia Europaiôn Seleukou Nikatoros. That means the city officially received the title of Roman colony and, at this occasion, recovered its original official name, Europos. It is for this reason that we decided to return to the name Europos, which is more historically accurate than Dura, which was used more at the end of the life of the city. On this question, see Leriche 2016.

2 French excavations directed by F. Cumont (1922–1924); followed by Yale University's French-American expedition directed by M. I. Rostovtzeff (1928–1937).

3 In particular due to the expertise of the MFSED in its understanding of construction techniques and their evolution, allowing them to date the masonry.

4 Fifteen religious buildings have been published by Cumont (1926) and by the Yale expedition in the *Excavations at Dura-Europos Preliminary Reports* (I–IX).

Pages Devoted to Religious Architecture

Building	Report	Number of Pages
Temple of Bêl or Temple	Cumont	12
of the Palmyrene Gods (J9)	*Prel. Rep.* II & IV	7
Temple of Artemis (H4)	Cumont	36
	Prel. Rep. II, III & VI	32
Temple of Atargatis (H2)	Cumont + *Prel. Rep.* III	11
military temple or Temple of the		7
Roman Archers (A1)	*Prel. Rep.* II	
Tychaion (L8)	*Prel. Rep.* III	3
Temple of Aphlad (N8)	*Prel. Rep.* IV & V	34
Temple of Azzanathkhona (E7)	*Prel. Rep.* V	70
synagogue (L7)	*Prel. Rep.* VI	82
Christian House Church (M8)	*Prel. Rep.* VI	47
Temple of the Gaddé (H1)	*Prel. Rep.* VII–VIII	65
mithraeum (J7)	*Prel. Rep.* VII–VIII	21
Temple of Adonis (L5)	*Prel. Rep.* VII–VIII	44
Temple of Zeus Theos (B3)	*Prel. Rep.* VII–VIII	14
Necropolis Palmyrene Temple	*Prel. Rep.* VII–VIII	11
dolicheneum (X7)	*Prel. Rep.* IX–3	15

5 Among recent research concerning religion in Europos-Dura (in addition to the abundant bibliography devoted to the synagogue, the Christian House Church, and the mithraeum), see Welles 1969. More recently, the fundamental publication by S. Downey (1988), integrates into the ensemble of temples published by Yale University the unpublished temple of Zeus Megistos, with her description based on Frank Brown's excavation notes. See also the recent work by Kaizer (2006) and Dirven (1999, 2007).

6 Some partial results have already been published, especially in Leriche et al. 2004. Others can be found in Leriche et al. 2012.

7 Several cult buildings (Temple of Zeus Kyrios, Temple of the Roman Archers, Necropolis Palmyrene Temple, Christian House Church, the synagogue, and the sanctuaries of Zeus Theos and Atargatis), discovered and published by previous excavation teams, have recently received new attention, but with few new developments, or have already been discussed

elsewhere (Temple of Azzanathkona). Thus I will not discuss these temples more than others that have not received new attention (the dolicheneum, Temple of Adonis, and tychaion) or that have completely disappeared (the mithraeum).

8 The main participants in this project were M. Gelin, E. al Ejji, and P. Leriche. The experts were J. Thiriot and F. Lesguer. An unfinished test trench along the north wall of the sanctuary that was opened by M. Gelin in 2009 really pertained only to the chronology of the rampart.

9 Surviving remains include three rows of unbaked bricks reddened to a depth of 2 cm only. This oven does not match the known characteristics of artisanal ovens. It is stretched out (2.8 x .9 m inside) and seems to have an opening on each end.

10 This large-scale operation was directed by L. Sahraoui and P. Leriche.

11 Eight drums were examined. Their height was 40 cm and their diameter was 66 to 73 cm.

12 Similar to the Temple of Atargatis. Contrary to this first altar, the second altar, located south of the temple, is oriented toward the west.

13 On the southern end of the penultimate level (going up) of the monumental staircase, we see the location of a column that is the counterpart of one in the north, indicated on the final plan of the Yale expedition.

14 Two columns have been placed under the eaves of the niche to prevent its collapse.

15 Three fragments were identified by Cumont 1926:171. Eighteen fragments were found in the debris.

16 This view was challenged by Robert 1936:9–14.

17 These blocks were interpreted by Pillet (Baur et al. 1932:11–13) as a setting for restoring the wilderness in which Artemis, as huntress, probably wearing a short tunic, roamed the forests and valleys.

18 According to the reading of the Yale expedition. Currently the remains of the staircase survive only to a length of 3 m.

19 Apart from the one that Frank Brown sought to restore at the Temple of Zeus Megistos, also known as the Temple of Zeus Olympios. Cf Brown 1941:94: "The Temple of Zeus Olympios at Dura-Europos consisted of a three-cella sanctuary on an open court entered by a Doric propylaeum. It may be dated in the reign of Antiochos IV, Epiphanes, 175–163 B.C. Its mixed plan, construction, and style testify to a deliberate policy of religious syncretism in which Seleucid Zeus Olympios was identified with Syrian Ba'al Shamin."

The temples of Zeus Theos, Adonis, Azzanathkona (naos and *salle à gradins*) and Bêl have a similar arrangement, but with only one annex room for the naos, which gives the temples an asymmetrical plan, apparently a later development.

20 Similar to the Temple of Zeus Megistos, where the altar was located south of the temple itself and oriented toward the west. This altar was then rebuilt in a monumental manner.

21 Project directed by J. Abdul Massih.

22 Such as the one that extends the room of the northwest corner too far to the east and at the same time removes a connecting door to the north. Also, the plan of the street-side facade of the sanctuary has been regularized.

23 Schematic plan of the entire sanctuary by M. Pillet, which has served as a reference ever since.

24 Rostovtzeff, Bellinger et al. 1936:plate XII [H. Pearson], and a plan of this raised sector by H. Detweiler in 1936, the same time he made the general plan of the excavations of Europos-Dura (Rostovtzeff et al. 1944).

25 Based on the underlying gypsum, as at the Temple of Bêl. See above.

26 R. du Mesnil du Buisson (1944:24, figure 10) interpreted this wadi as a Roman trench intended to cut a possible Sassanid undermining. In fact, it seems to have been used as a storm drain, covered by a floor alongside Tower 13 and passing under this tower to flow into the wadi by means of a barbican through the wall. Unfortunately, we have not been able to verify this hypothesis due to an enormous spoil heap from the Yale excavations against the face of the south wall.

27 The bench south of the altar and the small rubble structure in front of the altar are 25 cm higher than the north bench, a feature that could not be explained.

28 P. Le Bouteiller and S. Appert for the plan; G. Kochelenko and V. Gaibov from the Institute of Archaeology of Moscow, M. Duchâteau (then a Ph.D. student) in Paris, and myself for the excavation and numerous discussions of the site.

29 Several beads and a rough *juss* sculpture (probably an animal head) were found there by the Yale expedition.

30 These are the findings of a careful analysis of the ceramics from X9 conducted in 2010 by F. Alabe and D. Orssaud.

31 On this question, see Coqueugniot 2012a.

32 This project was conducted by O. Hausard with the assistance of J. Bonni and Y. Al Hassan.

33 Dimensions: 31.5 x 16 x 7 cm; dated between 100 and 256 C.E.; YUAG inv. no. 1935.51. See Brody and Hoffman 2011:plate 48.

34 Dimensions: 51 x 41 cm; dated between 160 and 256 C.E.; YUAG inv. no. 1938.5302.

35 Dimensions: 30 x 12.5 x 6.2 cm; YUAG inv. no. 1938.4965. See Rostovtzeff et al. 1946:plate 46 [N. Toll]; see also Brody and Hoffman 2011:plate 67.

36 Queyrel (2012) published this mold.

37 Archaeologically speaking, this means that apart from the citadel and the Palace of the Strategos, no building in the city could date earlier than the middle of the second century B.C.E., a fact that was unknown to the researchers of the Yale expedition.

38 Attested dates: 33 B.C.E.: Necropolis Temple; before 12–13 C.E.: Temple of Azzanathkona; about 28–29 and after 31 C.E.: Temple of Zeus Kyrios (Baalshamin); 31–32 C.E., against Tower 16: Temple of Atargatis; before 50–51 C.E.: Temple of Bêl, against Tower 1; before 54 C.E.: Temple of Aphlad in the southwest corner of the urban fortification.

39 This was also demonstrated by Dirven (2004). Obviously, Dirven concluded that this curious question did not have to be raised.

40 Observations that I was able to make in person on the works concerned.

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Appendix

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1969 *The Heracles Sculpture: The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Arts and Letters, Final Report 3, Part 1, Fascicle 1*. Edited by C. Bradford Welles. Dura-Europos Publications, New Haven, Connecticut.

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Plate 3.1. Hunting scene from the left wall of the adytum of the Dura-Europos mithraeum. (Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery)



Plate 3.2. Hunting scene from the right wall of the adytum of the Dura-Europos mithraeum. (Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery)



Plate 3.3. Fleeing wild animals, northwest corner of the cult room of the mithraeum in Huarte, Syria. (Photo Lucinda Dirven)

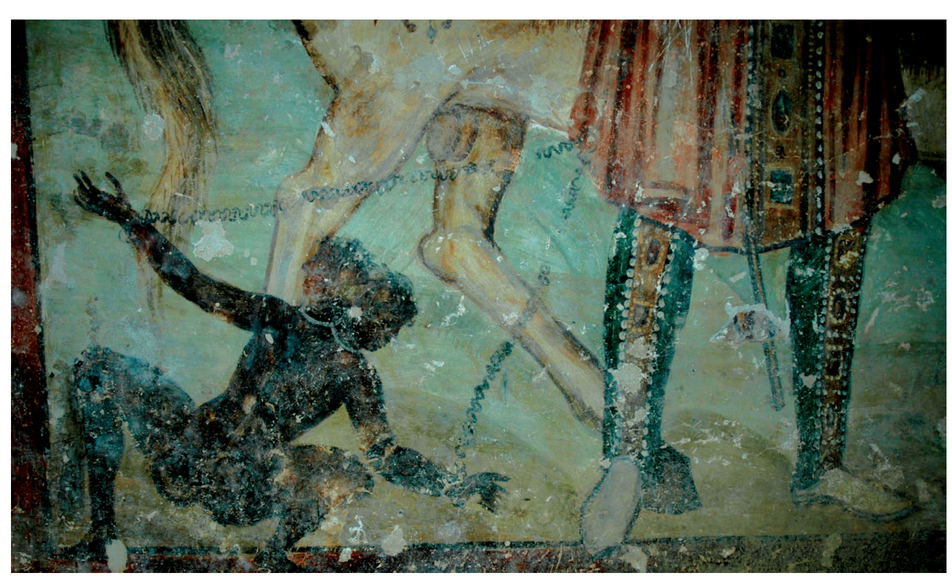


Plate 3.4. Persian rider from the vestibule in Huarte, Syria. (Photo Lucinda Dirven)



Plate 4.1. Remains of a wall painting on the western wall of the naos of the so-called Temple of Bêl at Dura-Europos. (From Cumont 1926:plate 43)



Plate 5.1. Wall painting: Dionysos and Ariadne, House of Fabius Rufus, Pompeii.
(Photo Lillian B. Joyce)



Plate 5.2. Panel A: Dionysos discovering Ariadne.
(Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Naples)



Plate 5.3. Panel B: Ariadne as initiate.
(Courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Naples)



Plate 6.1. Portrait of veiled maiden. (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Capitoline Museums, Rome, no. 2762. Photograph by Zeno Colantoni; © Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali—Musei Capitolini)



Plate 7.1. Assemblage of painted panels of a bearded man, Isis, and Serapis. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)



Plate 7.2. Mummy portrait of a woman from El-Hibeh, Egypt, 100–110 C.E. Attributed to the Isidora Master. Encaustic, gold, linen, and wood. Entire object: height 48 cm; width 36 cm; depth 12.8 cm. Object: height 33.6 cm; width 17.2 cm. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)

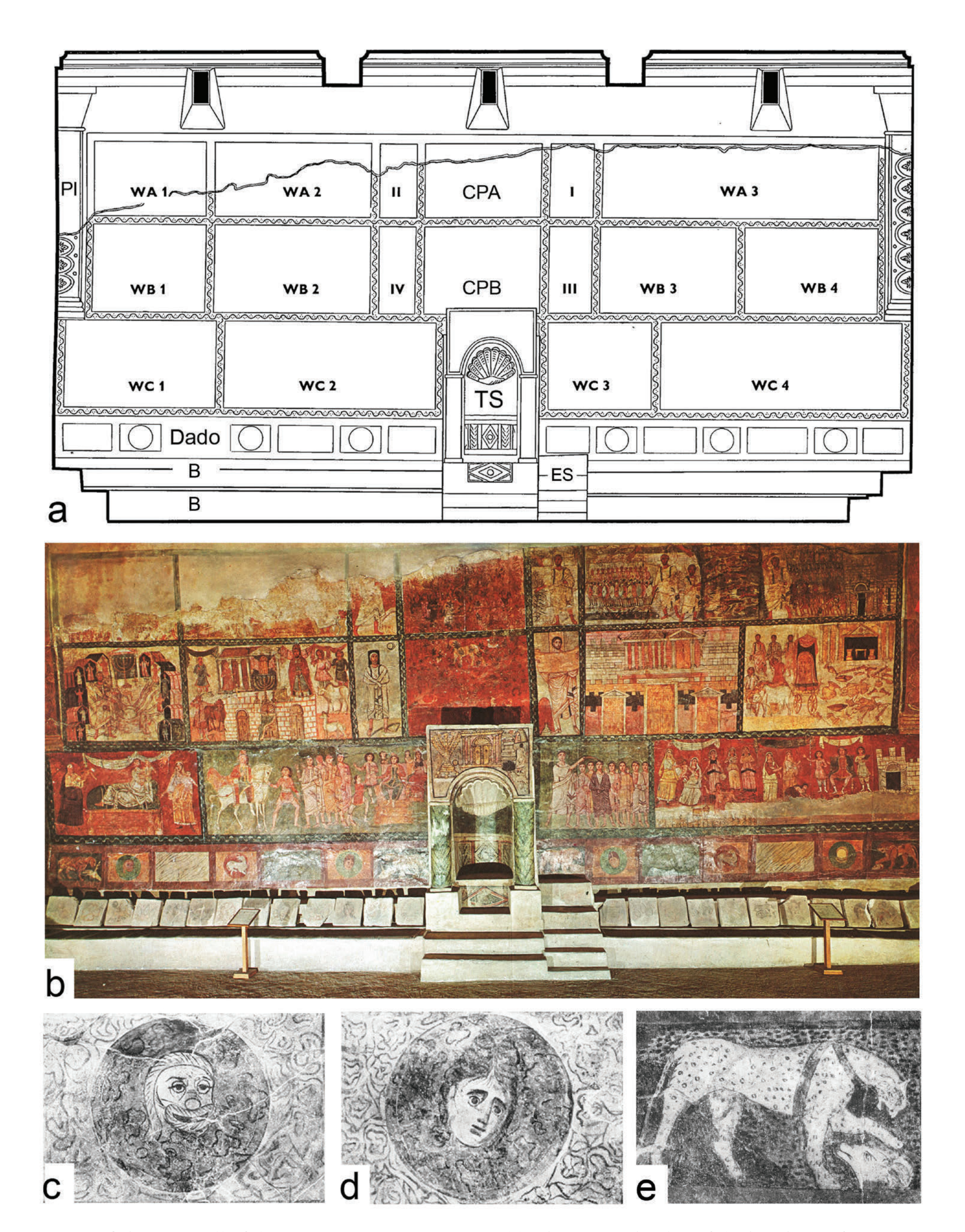


Plate 8.1. West wall of the Dura-Europos synagogue. (a) Diagrammatic plan of the interior surface, the centrally placed Torah shrine (TS), two rows of benches (B), and the elder's seat (ES), for the *archisynagogus* alongside the Torah shrine (adapted from Kraeling 1956:plate IX). The painting program above the dado was divided into three horizontal registers (WA, WB, and WC), each composed of multiple panels divided by a ribbon/vine motif. The upper two registers were bracketed by faux columns called pilasters (Pl). The central panels A and B (CPA and CPB, respectively) in those registers are flanked by wing panels I–IV. (b) The west wall paintings as seen reconstructed in the National Museum of Damascus (Goodenough 1964:plate 1). (c–e) Examples of theater masks (c, d) and an animal figure (e) in the dado below the narrative paintings (Kraeling 1956:plates XXXVII and XXXVIII).



Plate 8.2. Moses reading Deuteronomy in the Dura-Europos synagogue (a) compared with an author portrait from Greek antiquity, the Lateran Sophocles (b). The portrait of Moses in (a) is from Kraeling 1956 (pl. LXXVII). The Sophocles sculpture in (b) is a copy of the Roman statue in the Vatican duplicating a Greek original. The copy shown is by Constantin Dausch (d. 1908), housed at King's College, London (photograph courtesy of Dr. Jacqueline Banerjee). The red-covered container next to the scroll reader likely contains scrolls and thus helps to identify the reader as an author, as does the casket with scrolls beside the playwright Sophocles.



Plate 9.1. The Morgan Cup: saddled donkey tied to a pine tree. Roman Empire, first half of the first century C.E. Opaque white over translucent deep blue glass; blown and cased, carved, ground, and polished. Height 6.2 cm; diameter 7.6 cm. (Courtesy the Corning Museum of Glass; gift of Arthur A. Houghton Jr.; 52.1.93)



Plate 9.2. Cameo glass *skyphos*. Side A: seated Dionysos, satyr, Ariadne. 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. Artist unknown. Glass. Height 10.5 cm; width 17.6 cm; diameter 10.6 cm (4 1/8 x 6 15/16 x 4 3/16 in.). 84.AF.85. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)



Plate 9.3. Cameo glass *skyphos*. Side B: satyr, Ariadne, maenad. 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. Artist unknown. Glass. Height 10.5; width 17.6; diameter 10.6 cm (4 1/8 x 6 15/16 x 4 3/16 in.). 84.AF.85. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)



Plate 9.4. Cameo glass flask: Eros worshipping Thoth. 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. Artist unknown. Glass. Height 7.6 cm; width 4.2 cm (3 x 1 5/8 in.). 85.AF.84. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)



Plate 9.5. Cameo glass flask: Eros worshipping at an altar. 25 B.C.E.–25 C.E. Artist unknown. Glass. Height 7.6 cm; width 4.2 cm (3 x 1 5/8 in.); 85.AF.84. (Courtesy J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection)

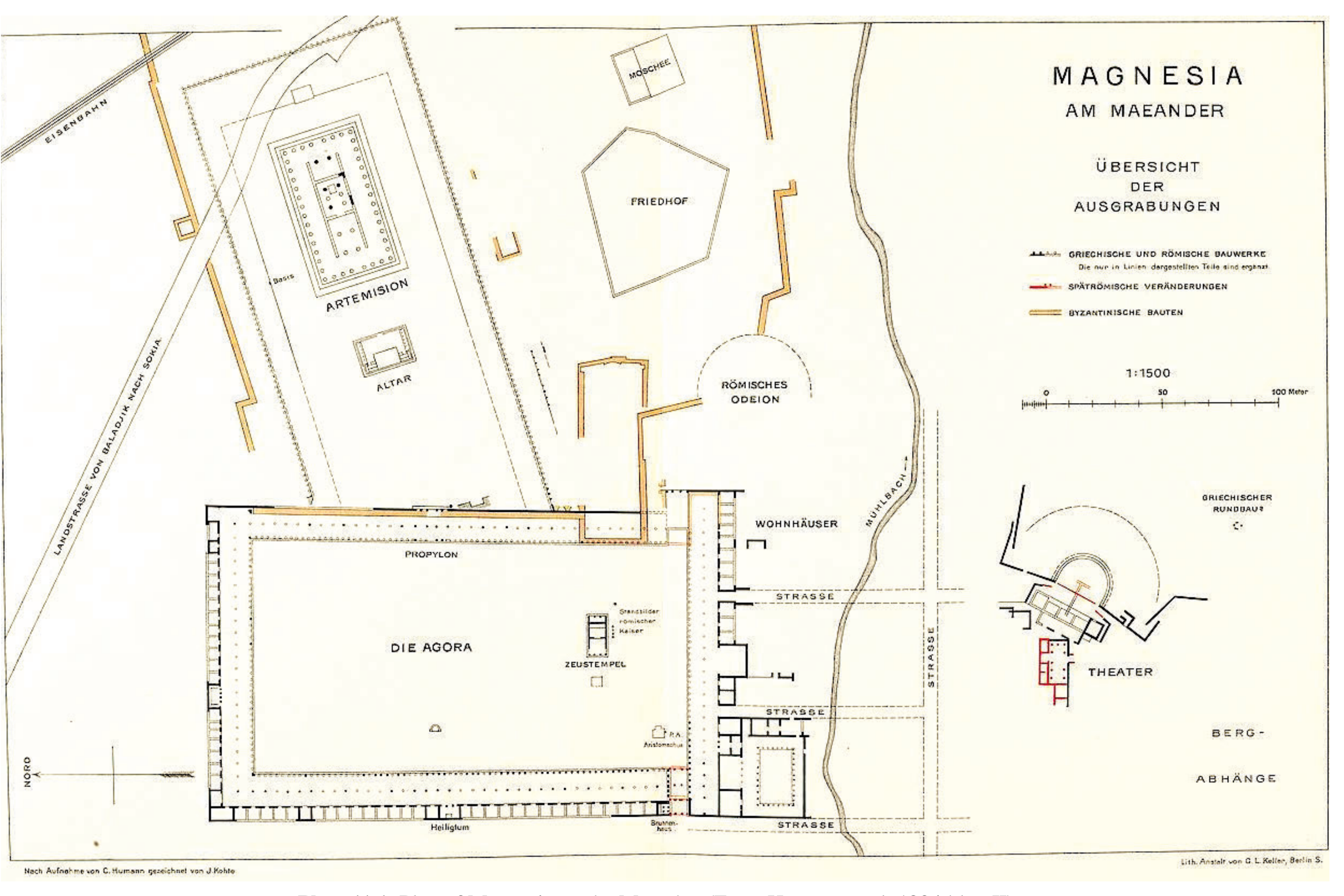


Plate 11.1. Plan of Magnesia on the Meander. (From Humann et al. 1904:blatt II)

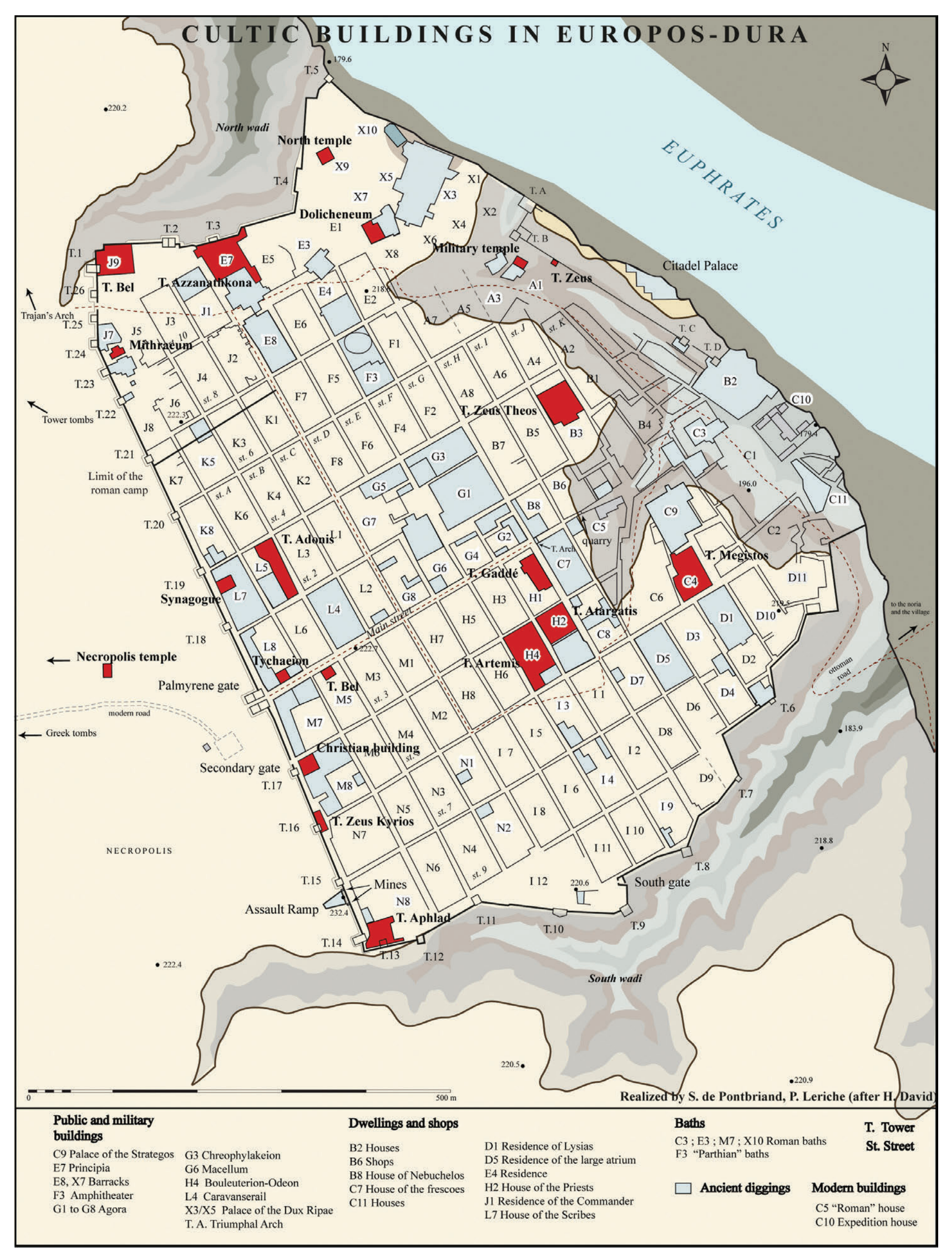


Plate 12.1. General plan of Europos-Dura with the location of the sanctuaries. (By S. de Pontbriand and P. Leriche; background by H. David. MFSED)



Plate 12.2. Temple of Bêl after excavation of the naos and pronaos.
View to the north. Two ovens are in the foreground. (MFSED)



Plate 12.3. Temple of Bêl: sounding in Room C. View to the west. (MFSED)



Plate 12.4. Sanctuary of Artemis: general view to the west of the flooded sanctuary, 1993. (MFSED)



Plate 12.5. Citadel Temple of Zeus: wall painting fragments. (MFSED)

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